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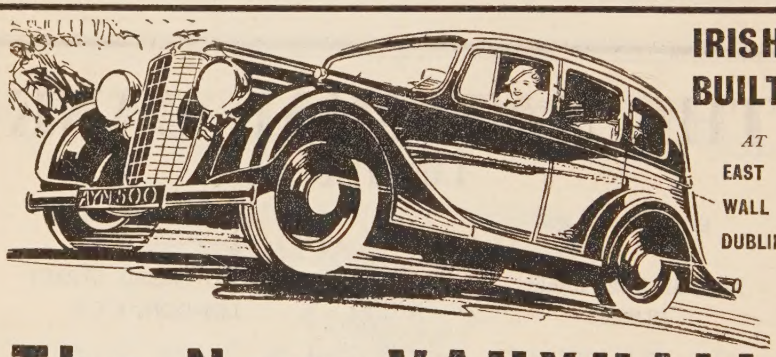

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STUDIES

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ALFRED ROSENBERG AS GERMAN PROPHET

BY JOHN J. COYNE, S.J.

ONLY faint echoes reach us here in Ireland of the great spiritual struggle that is being waged to-day in Nazi Germany. Supporting the National Socialist revolution and its Nordic outlook a national religion based on race and blood is being energetically championed by restless spirits. The part played in their weird programme by a book of Dr. Alfred Rosenberg, supervisor since January 1934 of intellectual training in Germany, forms the subject of these pages.

Rosenberg, the author of *Der Mythus des XX. Jahrhunderts* (*The Myth of the 20th Century*), is one of those men whom the political revolution of Hitlerite Germany has thrown up to the surface and made emerge to prominence in the movement. Born on 12th January 1893, at Reval in Esthonia, where he completed his secondary education, he studied architecture in the Technical High School at Riga, and at Moscow, whither the school had to be transferred owing to the Great War. After securing the diploma in engineering and architecture, he returned to Reval shortly before the German army entered that city in January 1918. He offered himself to the Germans as a volunteer, but was not accepted owing to his status as a foreigner in an occupied territory. He remained in Reval over the summer of 1918 as drawing master in the Gustavus-Adolfus gymnasium. The day preceding the declaration of the Esthonian Republic he delivered himself of a heated harangue against Jews and Bolsheviks, and then set out for Munich, where on 8th April, 1919, the date of the foundation of the short-lived Bavarian Republic of Soviets, he just escaped arrest by the red-guard after he had been speaking in public for twenty minutes in denunciation of the Jews and Marxists. In that same year he made the acquaintance of Hitler and soon joined his party, and in 1921, in conjunction with Dietrich Eckart, took over the management of the *Voelkischer Beobachter*, the party organ

of the Nazis to this day, sharing with Hitler the vicissitudes and dangers attendant on the formation of the N. S. D. A. P. (Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter-Partei). Not till February 1923 did Rosenberg receive his status as a German citizen. In addition to his work as manager of the Munich daily, he has to his credit a number of books that show him the outspoken and fanatical enemy of the Jewish race and the Christian religion, as well as the enthusiastic prophet of the Nazi regime. The chief works of this prolific writer are the following :—*Die Spur der Juden im Wandel der Zeit ; Das Verbrechen der Freimaurerei ; Houston S. Chamberlain als Verkuender und Begruender einer deutschen Zukunft ; Wesen, Grundsaetze und Ziele der N. S. D. A. P. ; Der Zukunftsweg einer deutschen Aussenpolitik ; Der Mythus des 20 Jahrhunderts ; Blut und Ehre.*

The best known and most notorious of these is the *Myth of the 20th Century*, which first appeared in February 1930—though, as the author tells us in the preface, its main ideas were already worked out in 1917. The third edition of this book appeared in October 1931 ; in May 1934, 150,000 copies had already been printed. The latest reprint, which is dated January 1935, and to which we refer in these pages, is the 51-52 edition and brings the number of copies to 263,000. The work is dedicated " To the memory of the two million German heroes who fell in the world-war for a German life and a German kingdom of honour and freedom." It is fast becoming the inspired book of Nazi Germany ; its teachings are moulding the spirit and practice of the age. It was placed on the Index of prohibited books by the Supreme Congregation of the Holy Office on February 7, 1934. In the words of the decree of condemnation " this book spurns and utterly rejects all the dogmas of the Catholic Church and indeed the foundations of the Christian religion itself. It upholds the need of instituting a new religion or German church, and formulates the principle that to-day a new mythical faith is arising, a mythical faith of blood based on the belief that the divine nature of man can be defended by a faith founded on the most exact science . . . . . "

The *Mythus* is divided into three books : (i) *The Struggle of Values*, divided into three chief sections : Race and Soul of the Race, Love and Honour, Mysticism and Action ; (ii) *The Essence of German Art*, divided into Racial Ideal of Beauty, Will and Impulse, Subjective and Objective Style, The Aesthetic Will ; (iii) *The Coming Reich*, divided into Myth and Type, State and Sexes, People and State, Nordic-German Law, Popular Church and School in Germany, New State-System, Unity of Being.

To appreciate the leading ideas running through this work of 700 pages it will first be necessary to recall briefly the racial theories of two forerunners of Rosenberg, neither of whom, strange to say, was German : we refer to the French diplomat Count Gobineau and the Englishman Houston Stewart Chamberlain. In his *Essai sur l'Inégalité des Races humaines* (1852) Gobineau allots the pride of place, among the white races, to the Aryans, those fair-haired, blue-eyed men of inventive power and talent in governing, who in the misty past spread from India to northern Europe. An offshoot of one of the Aryan branches, the Suevi, invaded Gaul under Ariovistus and were vanquished by Julius Caesar. " Fate declared against him and his army, but not against his race,"[1] for the name of Ariovistus's warriors was Hermanni, which they pronounced Germanni. These Germanni ranked among the best representatives of the Aryan races and have remained the least contaminated of their descendants. Gobineau's race theories were quickly appreciated by Bismarck, who realised their importance in practical politics.

Chamberlain's book, *Die Grundlagen des* 19. *Jahrhunderts* (1890-1891), developed further the theories of the Frenchman along psychological rather than physical lines—moral characteristics being for him a more important criterion of Germanic descent than the possession of blue eyes, blond hair and a dolichocephalic mould of head. As against Gobineau, for whom the white race progressively deteriorates with cross-breeding, Chamberlain claims to formulate the laws whereby a race can be created and gradually improved.

[1] Gobineau : op. cit. II, p. 351.

Be that as it may, these racist doctrines were destined to have an important influence in the religious domain. From the first they stood for a very decided anti-Jewish policy, and soon developed antagonism to the Catholic religion by reason of the original Jewish roots of the Christian faith. The old Testament was not edifying or spiritual enough for the lofty notions of Germans, whose forbears were spurred to action not by selfish motives of rewards and punishments but through the sole love of duty. The Jews were not children of God but of the demon ; theologians had erred in identifying the Heavenly Father, the God of Jesus Christ, with the God of the Hebrews ; the teaching of Christ is in reality an Aryan protest against the Jewish spirit, which is the enemy of humanity and all true morality. Not content with rejecting the Old Testament, these race enthusiasts proceeded to lay sacrilegious hands on the New as well, following the lead of their mentor Marcion, the heresiarch of the second century. They attempt to show, among grosser errors, that Christ was not a Jew : He was born in Galilee according to Chamberlain, that " Galilee of the Gentiles," which in the eighth century B.C. experienced an infusion of Aryan blood with the Assyrian invasion. " We can discover not the least reason," he gaily asserts, " for admitting that the parents of Jesus Christ were of the Jewish race."[1]

This whittling away of the Gospel was extreme enough ; but a more radical conclusion was drawn by some from their pet theories of race : a reversion to paganism pure and simple, a replacing of Christianity and its mysticism by another religion more in keeping with German mentality, in which the gods of the Nordic Olympus, Wotan and Siegfried, replace the God and Christ of the Christian dispensation.

* * * *

It was perhaps inevitable that the Nazi revolution should find, for its extreme views of nationalism as well as for its

[1] Christ's true genealogy is given in St. Matthew 1, 1 : " The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the Son of David, the Son of Abraham." St. Paul similarly attests His origin from the seed of David (Rom. 1, 4). " Galilee of the Gentiles " was a border country and may have had infiltrations of Aryan blood ; but Christ was not born in Galilee but in Bethlehem, the city of David, in the land of the tribe of Judah, and He was entered on the official registers as a descendant of David.

totalitarian aims, a ready ally in these race theories. They have been developed by Rosenberg in a thoroughly radical manner in his *Myth of the 20th Century*—which however, according to the Preface, is the expression of his own private views and for which the Nazi party should in no way be held responsible.

With charactertistic German thoroughness Rosenberg makes a clean sweep of all past history. He writes :—

> There starts to-day one of those epochs in which the history of the world will have to be written afresh. A new sense of life, which is conscious however of being rooted in the primitive past, pushes to the surface and takes form ; a new view of life (Weltanschauung) is born and begins to demand an account of ancient forms, sacred usages, traditional values. Not merely is there question of historical interpretation, but principles themselves are involved, not in this or that special field only but through all domains of thought, not at the surface of things merely but at their very roots. The characteristic of our time is the repudiation of the limitless Absolute, that is of a value that transcends all organic forms of experience, such as the isolated ego once framed for itself and which was to bring about peacefully or otherwise a superhuman community of the souls of all. Such a purpose was once the Christianising of the world and its redemption by the Christian returning to his ideal. Another such dream was the humanising of mankind. Both ideals have been buried in the bloody chaos and the rebirth attendant on the experiences of the world-war, though both ideals particularly now find a priesthood and a following that grow ever more fanatical. But these are mere processes of congealment and not signs of a living life. A faith which has died in the soul can no more be awakened from the dead (pp. 21-22).

In place of that dead faith there rises for Rosenberg a new faith, the faith of the race, that primitive faith of the Nordic man, of whom the present day German is the heir :—

> The war-dead were the victims of the catastrophe in which a worthless epoch was involved ; but they are at once the martyrs and the witnesses of a new day, a new faith . . . . The blood which died begins to live. In the mystic sign of that blood a new cell-formation in the German soul is proceeding apace : present and past appear suddenly in a new light, and a new mission is set the future. Its task and that of history will be no more the struggle of class against class, of dogma against dogma, but the settlement, the composition between blood and blood, race and race, people and people. And that signifies the

struggle between soul-values and soul-values . . . Soul means the race viewed from within, and inversely race is the outer view of a soul. To awaken to life the soul of the race is to recognise its supreme place in the scale of values and to assign to other values their organic position under its supremacy in state, art, religion. That is the task of our century : to create a new type of man from out a new myth of life (p. 1).

That is the bold task which Nazi Germany has set itself : to create, in the language of Rosenberg, a new outlook and philosophy of life, based on a racist faith which rejects all traditional values and subordinates all to itself. National socialism, such as it prevails to-day in Germany, is before all else a new *Weltanschauung ;* it would confront the so-called decaying world with a complete rejuvenescence, and, while saddling Christianity with the onus of all the crises and catastrophes of the past, it proclaims as the only salvation the breaking forth of the national soul and its hidden forces. Race and a concept of life proper to itself are to be the dynamic for a new Germany and a new Europe—and a new world.

Mythus is the label attached by Rosenberg to this new twentieth century ideal. What meaning does the term convey to us ? Myths are those legends and fables, those figures under which imaginative peoples of old thought of their gods and legendary heroes, or clothed in poetic garb their reactions to the mysteries of life. In a modern poetic sense the German word *Mythus* seems to stand besides for some supreme idea (like that of race, life, honour) which can be formed as it were instinctively and which dominates man's volitional life.[1] " No people can live without a Mythus," writes a German biographer of Hitler,[2] and he seems to mean by it some figurative abstraction which embodies the conscious aspirations of a nation. For neo-pagans like Rosenberg and the supporters of the national church movement a *Mythus* is one of those imaginative creations which they have substituted for the religious truths of Christianity: for instance, Myth of the " consciousness of God in man," Myth of the " eternal race-

[1] Mythus is defined in the *Herderlexicon* as : " Die Form bildhafter Betrachtung des Lebens und der es beherrschenden uebermaechtigen Kraefte " (the form in which life and its supreme governing forces can be figuratively considered).

[2] Johann von Leers : *Adolf Hitler* (Leipzig. 1932. p. 7).

soul," Myth of "the sacred blood of the German race"—which latter is for Rosenberg *The Myth of the 20th Century.*

* * * *

From Chamberlain Rosenberg takes over the twin division of races: the good race, the Nordic, to which he ascribes all that is noble, progressive and heroic; and the degenerate race or conglomeration of races, that chaos of peoples (Voelkerchaos) from which all that is evil and degenerate proceeds.

In picturesque and imaginative pages Rosenberg traces to his own satisfaction the pre-historic origins of the Nordic race, that white-skinned, blue-eyed, blond-haired people: for him the legend of Atlantis has a basis of fact in a continent at the north-pole, between North America and Europe, a zone which then enjoyed a far milder climate and which was "the pre-historic Nordic centre of civilisation," "the central point of the world" whence these Atlantic men went forth faring by sea in their swan-and-dragon-shaped ships to the Mediterranean and North Africa, by land to Central Asia, to Kutscha, perhaps to China, and over to North America. We see them in the bright-skinned and the blue-eyed men on reliefs dating from 2,400 B.C., in Pausanias's blond Libyans, represented among the four races of Egypt on funeral monuments of Thebes; we glimpse them as "a purely Nordic type" on tombs of the eighteenth dynasty, etc., etc. The Amorites, recognised by Sayce as bright-skinned and blue-eyed, founded Jerusalem and formed the Nordic stratum in the later Galilee, "Galilee of the Gentiles," from which Christ was to proceed. For Rosenberg one great fact emerges—namely, "the sense of world-history radiating from the north spread over the whole earth, carried by a blue-eyed blond race, which in several great waves determined the spiritual face of the world." (p. 28). He enumerates these great migratory waves as follows: the march of the Atlantic men, shrouded in sagas, over North Africa; that of the Aryans to Persia and India, followed by the Dorians, Macedonians and Latins; the migration of the Germanic peoples; the colonising of the world by the Germanised West.

He then traces the influence of these waves of Nordic blood on the Indians, the Persians, the Greeks and the Romans. The dream of the Nordic man was fairest dreamt in Hellas, with its poetry and religion of light (Apollo). The Zeus-Apollo represents the intellectual-volitional side of Nordic Greek blood; just as the debased bastard orgiastic types of worship, with their ecstatic rites and temple prostitution, are the expression of non-Nordic, Asiatic and North-African race-groups. For in opposition to the Nordic race there is the mixed group of races, called by Rosenberg the Pelasgian-Phoenician-Alpine-Syrian or the Africo-Asiatic chaos of peoples, that Mediterranean Morass or mixture of peoples (Voelkermorast) from which comes all that is bad and destructive of nationhood, personality and the spirit of man: magic, witchcraft, devil-worship, ecstatic religiosity, pederasty, sex-collectivism, and the rest of the evil brood, with their representatives Ahasver, Mephistopheles, the Jewish daemon, the temple-prostitute, the priest-magician and the Etruscan haruspex—the immediate successor of the last being the head of the Roman Church. As to Rome, it too was a foundation of Nordic peoples, who long before the time of the Germans and Gauls poured down on the fertile valley south of the Alps, broke the empire of the Etruscans (that strange mysterious people from Asia), mingled with the still pure breeds of the Mediterranean race, and produced a Nordic type of great strength and tenacity. But as in Greece and elsewhere, so too in Rome race-degeneration set in, the first step towards chaos being the inter-marriage of patrician and plebeian. In vain "the blue-eyed powerful Sulla" and Augustus "of the purely Nordic head" stemmed the tide of degeneracy. In 400 years of race-destroying democracy the grand racial forces of the Rome of other days were well-nigh extinct. Spaniards like Trajan, Hadrian, Aurelian only increased the degeneration: the latter Emperor was further "weakened by Christianity, for he set up as a state principle the protection of slaves, the emancipation of women, the succour of the indigent." And so by degrees the inferior races—Asiatic, Syrian, African, Greek—bastardised the Roman people: the

truscan haruspex triumphed, and the Roman Pope arose
s his immediate successor, while the temple rulers, the
ollege of Cardinals, represent an amalgam of Etrusco-Syrian-
siatic-Jewish priesthood with the Nordic senate of Rome
. 67). To this Etruscan haruspex is traced our medieval
ilosophy of life, that fearful magic and witch-madness to
hich millions of victims were sacrificed in the West. Dante's
ferno is ascribed to this Etruscan world of ideas, which
assed to the Roman Church.[1] "Only when this foreign
ing is recognised, and its origins laid bare, and we react
rongly in ridding ourselves of the whole of this fearsome
ectre (Spukwesen), only then have we triumphed over the
iddle Ages; thereby too shall we have dealt a mortal blow
the Roman Church, which has been forever bound up with
truscan torments of the underworld."

The Christian doctrine of original sin, Rosenberg goes
to say, and the necessity of grace make explicable the
ctory of Christianity; but for a Nordic nation the doctrine
original sin is quite meaningless: in such a nation abides
secure confidence in itself and its own purpose. Of such a
ould were the heroes of Homer, the old-time Indians, the
ermani of Tacitus [2] and of the Dietrich saga; whereas an
biding consciousness of sin is the accompaniment of physical
egeneration. Race pollution creates broken characters, a
ck of direction in thought and action, an inner restlessness,
longing after grace as the only hope. So in early Christian
ome all who possessed character defended themselves against
ie invasion of Christianity, "even as the Germanic world
as ever revolted against this Syrian thing."

Besides embodying a doctrine, this early Christianity
anifested a political current which explains the persecution
ie Christians had to sustain. A paltry eighty martyrs
ffered in the "fearful" Diocletian persecution, whereas
the Netherlands alone under the most Christian Alba

[1] Op. cit. p. 69. Dante in another place is claimed as a product of the German race, a great Nordic Italian, whose ideal of beauty "ist germanisch bedingt" (p. 295).
[2] To what purpose if not to placate their gods and to satisfy for sin did the primitive rmans of Tacitus' day offer human sacrifice to Ziu the god of war? (Tacitus, *Germania* ch. 39).

100,000 heretics were put to death. Rosenberg defends t honour of Julian the Apostate, "the pious Julian" w wrote: "Through the folly of these Galileans our State h almost perished; through the grace of the gods comes n salvation: so we shall honour the gods and every city in whi piety is still found."

What is Rosenberg's attitude to the Founder of Chris anity? In several passages of his work he speaks of "t great personality" of Christ, which he endeavours to resc from the mass of Asiatic-Jewish-African accretions whi came to disfigure it soon after His death. All that he achiev however, is to rob Christ of His divinity, His virgin birt His messianic claims and His resurrection from the dea Having thus dethroned Him, he sets Him up again as a Nord hero of non-Jewish Aryan origin:—

> It was in the interests of the Roman Church to represent lov humility as Christ's nature, that it might have as many submissi servants as possible after this ideal. To rectify this presentation a further indispensable demand of the German movement of renewal. The formidable preacher and the wrathful one in the temple, the m who dominates and "whom they all followed," not the lamb of sacrif of the Jewish prophecy, not the crucified one, is to-day the formati ideal which shines forth to us from out the gospels. And if it cann shine forth from them, then the Gospels themselves are dead (p. 604

Obsessed with his racist theories Rosenberg sees in S Paul the fanatical Pharisee who preached an internation Jewish world-revolution against the Roman Empire a smoothed the way for the chaos of races throughout t ancient world, thus bastardising, orientalising and judaisi Christianity. "The struggle of the first centuries after Chri can be grasped only as a struggle of different race-souls wi the manifold chaos of races, whereby the Syro-Asiatic me tality, with its superstition and magic and sensual mysteri grouped behind it all that was chaotic, abject, broken . . Thus was introduced to Europe a religion impregnated wi a slave-beatitude complex and protected by the falsificati of the great personality of Jesus" (p. 76). The Catho Church is the receptacle for this unlovely tide of Asiat degeneracy, which, proceeding from the eastern Medite

ıean, created its western centre (at Rome) with the help magical cults, the Jewish bible and a misrepresentation the historical Jesus (p. 245). The Church's dream is the ɔrld supremacy of the divinised Pope ; its purpose is chaos race, a raceless world-state.

All that is noble, divine and of good repute in the Church, ɔsenberg drags in the mire of his *Voelkermorast :* its head e Pope, its bishops, priests, religious orders, its faithful, its ɔred books, its creed and moral teaching, its sacraments, councils, its history for the past 2,000 years. Its martyrs ɔre but the enemies of the state, those who attacked its ıching were the real men of character, from the days of ırcion and Julian to the Waldensians, Cathari, Huguenots d the heretics of our day. Every human weakness, real or ıcied, that clings to its children he exploits and blows ɔss ; he is silent as to its grandeurs and sanctities, the perishable renown of its heroic men and women, the dis-ıguished line of its pontiffs, its work for the regeneration of ankind, its championing of the rights of conscience and the erty of man in every age. Rosenberg has no sense or derstanding for all this ; his fanatical obsession makes him nd to historic method, to a reasoned objective study of ırces, to a fair-minded presentation of facts. To prepare e way for the advance of a new religion of race, the Nordic th, he has first to belittle and defame, if he cannot shatter pieces, that hated rival, the Catholic Church, which stands the way.[1] In the name of German nationality and German ɔod he scruples not to dishonour the ancient faith not merely a third of the German population, the German Catholics, t of the vast majority of his countrymen, who still Christian lieve in a religion revealed by God.

Though he disclaims the rôle of founder of a new religion church and bitterly attacks in his preface to the third ıtion of his work those who would credit him with such,

[1] This he endeavours to do by the employment of the crudest and most unscientific hods possible, by exaggeration, misrepresentation, naive ignorance and those countless ish errors with which the *Mythus* abounds. In a special Supplement to the *Kirch-er Anzeiger* of the Archdiocese of Cologne, entitled *Studien zum Mythus des XX. Jahr-derts*, a complete refutation is given of Rosenberg's more glaring misrepresentations arly Christianity and of the Church of the Middle Ages and of more recent times.

Rosenberg does adumbrate a new religion in several passa of his *Mythus,* and his volume has had enormous influe in preparing the way for the German National Church mo ment and its neo-pagan antics.

One of the greatest tasks of the century is to give expression to Nordic soul in a German National Church built up on national individual honour (p. 169). . . . "A German National Churc to-day the desire of millions, though the new longing has nowher yet appeared as a living deed . . . no religious genius has arisen would live before us, by the side of existing religious types, as a creator" (p. 599). . . ."From out the newly bourgeoning nati Mythus spiritual forces grow in all directions: each of these car led only by a great personality . . . . As we await yet the supreme p of the world-war, the great dramatist of our life, the great archi and sculptor, so too we look anxiously towards the leader of the Reich and the coming National Church, the essential points of wh are already clearly outlined to-day" (p. 602). . . . "Free re will be allowed to every religious conviction, subject, however, to condition that none may in any way hinder the national teaching. Once and for all the so-called Old Testament must be abolished a religious book. That will remove the abortive attempt of the millennium and a half to turn us spiritually into Jews, an atter for which we have to thank their present materialistic supremacy."

This Church, it goes without saying, will be complet subordinated to the State: "no action may be approved the German National Church which does not first of all se the security of the German people . . . all its ministers religion must be pledged to the oath to guard the honour the nation . . . the National Church will be in the service the Mythus of the nation" (p. 608). Out of this new relig in a remodelled Germany will emerge a new Europe w Germany as the central power and bulwark against the Sou and South-East—with Germany, not Palestine, the Holy La Like Moses on Mount Nebo, Rosenberg has a vision of t Holy Land and closes his book with a dithyrambic prophe of its future. It is a worthy conclusion to a book which an extraordinary farrago of historical ignorance and rac pride. It needs no refutation; but in a further article may give some account of the attempts to set up the Natio Church which he adumbrates in its pages.

JOHN J. COYNE

THE PRESENT POSITION OF CATHOLICS IN GERMANY

BY GERMANUS

HITHERTO one spoke only of the Russian enigma. A German enigma confronts us to-day. Its existence as suspected in the past by those who looked beneath the urface. For the French writer Massis, for example, the line f cleavage between the "rational" West and the "irra-onal" East was along the Rhine. But his book—anything ut impartial—merely proves that the German character ever a riddle to the Frenchman. It is quite true that there a mixture of rational and irrational elements in the German haracter and that German thought can never be reduced o a short formula—but the same may also be said of other ations. Perhaps the truth is that there is much in Germany hich is still in an unformed state, much which is in the flux f organic development—in other words, that the German eople is still young and vigorous.

In recent years a succession of castastrophes has over-aken Germany. Her armies were driven from the battle-elds of the World War after a struggle which even her pponents admit to have been heroic. The old form of overnment was overthrown and a new form, faced with an ncertain and forbidding future, was set up. The economic risis and the inflation followed, bringing ruin to millions of nrifty and hard-working citizens. A bolshevik revolution roke out suddenly in Munich and in the Ruhr, which, even hen subdued and all danger was past, was for many the oreshadowing of evils to come. Such experiences shook the erman nation to its foundations, and the resulting feelings f desperation were only accentuated when it turned in vain o its neighbouring countries for a helping hand. Instead of elp came demands for reparations, the occupation of the uhr, and other reminders that it was but a pawn in the ame of international politics. This unsettled state of affairs eached its climax when Adolf Hitler stepped forth as the

leader of a quasi-messianic movement. Small wonder th that Germany is found to be enigmatical.

Everything which is happening in Germany to-day bound up with this enigma. Everyhing is caught up in t whirl of impetuous development. It is impossible at t moment to say anything final about any phase of life culture. Everything is overshadowed by the great questio mark of the German riddle. We cannot, therefore, sket the present position of the Catholics as something in a way permanent. No one can say what sweeping chang to-morrow will bring. Yet we feel certain that such a sket has its uses, as a kind of recollection for German Catholi and as a warning for the Catholics of the whole world. "Ge mania docet" applies very definitely again to-day. T currents and under-currents which are felt in Germany hav their counterparts in almost every other country at presen and for this reason alone a description of the position Catholics in Germany is well worth while. First of all, how ever, let us cast a glance on German Catholicism as it wa before the National Socialist revolution. Then we can con sider the present in the light of this past. Finally we sha try to peer into the future, and we shall consider the attempt which could be made to solve the present difficulties.

I

As we look back to-day the Catholicism of post-wa Germany unfolds itself to us as a wonderful and romanti fairy-tale. The great pen of Newman would surely hav called this period a "second spring." The War had prepare a way for many towards the rediscovery and reconsideratio of forgotten metaphysical values. The leading minds of th time turned away from pure organisation and the promotio of material civilisation, and sought instead the things o permanent worth which are to be found in organic culture German Catholicism was caught up in the general movemen of the time, and was swept on to some notable achievement in the religious, social and political spheres.

Within the Church a new impulse towards essentials

wards the things which really matter was experienced. was felt more strongly than ever before that advance with- t a renewal of sacramental life was impossible. Catholics erefore turned to the Church with a new love, devoted emselves more than ever to her service, and deepened their derstanding of her supernatural mysteries. The parish s restored to its rightful place as the all-important unit the life of the Church, as the cell of the whole organism. ie confraternities devoted themselves with a new enthusiasm d understanding to religious concerns. The post-war age, th its tendency to lose itself in relativistic and psychological oblems, yielded steadily to an impulse towards a simple ceptance and a joyful confession of the faith. This move- ent may have had its drawbacks—the danger of neglecting ceticism in the effort to promote sacramental life, an aggerated cult of aesthetics and romanticism, a tendency to rget or overlook the important role of Christianity in public e—yet for all that it was a time of true heart-searching for any, a time characterised by the increasing practice of the piritual Exercises of St. Ignatius, a time of genuine desire renew all things through the Church, to renew life by ligion and nature by grace.

Innumerable congregations and societies grew and ossomed in the garden of the Church. The vocational guilds, e sodalities and the youth movement are especially worthy mention. Not only did the most important societies eadily increase in membership, but they also manifested corresponding growth in their interior life. To get a detailed ea of the progress made one would have to visit the various ntral offices—which were often, it must be confessed, too nbitiously constructed—and inquire about the activities such societies as the workers' unions, the apprentice guilds, e unions of teachers, civil servants, officials, the societies r young men and women, for schoolboys and university udents, and many others. Most of these societies differed their organisation and aims; but they all stood on the me firm ground of religious principles and they all held up e same high ideals before their members.

German Catholicism received a strong stimulus also f the fact that the Centrum had played an important in the elaboration of the Constitution of Weimar. Of co they were not able to fulfil everyone's wishes, especially as Catholics formed only a minority, and a minority which been diminished through the surrender of several Cath districts in accordance with the Versailles Treaty. Eli nating whatever savoured of the Kulturkampf atmosph which had been associated inseparately with the old regi they threw themselves wholeheartedly into the task of bu ing up a new Germany. Their readiness for construct work found outlet in the liberty which democracy offe to Catholics as well as to others. As the Party which held middle course, they played an important part in guiding destinies of the new State; and their guidance was in ev way good, reasonable and consistent. This was especia true of the foreign policy which they introduced. It is s being conducted along the lines laid down for it by the C trum. But when we consider the reforms which w necessary within Germany itself, we are reminded of wh Knickerbocker said so justly of Heinrich Brüning, that plans of this outstanding statesman contained all and m than all that is being proclaimed as the achievement of ot leaders. The Catholics, and especially those of the youn generation, took a keen interest in the State, regarded it their own, grew up as a vital part of it, and experienced o again that fullness of life which is the natural result of natio and harmonious co-operation between the various class Complementary to this was the removal of many disabiliti so that Catholics were permitted to hold the higher and ev the highest offices of State.

But it was the Katholikentage, the great annual congres of the Catholics, which more than anything else showed wh German Catholicism had become immediately before t National Socialist revolution. When one looks back to-d at the last and most glorious of these congresses, that h at Essen, and studies its programme of work, one is astonish at the number of problems which were so courageou

ckled. Problems of religion, politics, culture, family life, lucation, urban and rural life, town-planning, theatre, press, nema, wireless—all these were thoroughly discussed, and ch department had its own recognised specialists. But l this work received its inspiration from the Mass celebrated y the Papal Nuncio. It was the centre radiating light on l and giving a meaning to all the cultural and social work the Congress. Perhaps the most impressive item of the rogramme was the procession of the Catholic youth organi-tions. As they bore the banner of Christ through the streets nd squares of the city, it was manifest that a new generation as at hand which was ready to carry to new victories the ork which had been begun in the cause of Church and State. he Communists observed a truce during those days—moreover ne danger of a Communistic State was then a thing of the ast. But a new symbol was raising itself up threateningly gainst the standard of Christ and the banners of the saints hich were carried in solemn procession during the Congress. he Swastika (Hakenkreuz) was the sign and symbol of a ovement which is now bound up with the fate of the German eople and which may yet be bound up with that of the whole orld.

II

National Socialism originated in Austria, the native ountry of Adolf Hitler. The struggle there between Germans nd non-Germans emphasised the factor of race and blood. he Socialism of Vienna, always strongly bolshevik, stirred p much more resistance and opposition than the more bour-eois social democracy of the German Empire. The Austrian arliament, unlike the Roman Senate, was no "Diet of ings"; it had even less in common with the courteous adition of the English parliament, it was constantly filled ith the uproar and recriminations of party disputes. Anti-emitic feeling is also typically Austrian, as is State liberalism nd the related anti-clericalism. All these belong to the gitimate heritage of Adolf Hitler. Every page of his book *Iein Kampf* shows how much he has been influenced by the

ideology of the Austrian Pan-Germans. Perhaps the art steering between opposites is also a valuable constituent the Austrian heritage, that interesting blend of racial natio alism, anti-Marxism, anti-parliamentarianism and anti-cler calism. Adolf Hitler has united all these elements into a ne blend in the service of an almost messianic idea.

Like every other messianic movement this too has arise in a period of want and misery. There was indescribab want and nation-wide distress in Germany, the relief of whic demanded such an heroic patience as was beyond the powe of a broken people. By setting up his party as the gatewa of escape from this distress, the gateway into a promise land, and by keeping focused on it the magic light of pro paganda, Adolf Hitler attracted the masses to himsel Among the first to flock to him were those who had lost a hope, the bankrupt middle-class, the farmer encumbere with debts, the student with the numerous clausus before him Behind these came others vainly struggling to make a living– enemies, in some form, of Big Industry. It was, as a certai professor of Political Economy said, only a continuatio of class-warfare with different methods. Then came th burning of the Reichstag, which was exploited to convinc the terrified inhabitants of the remotest villages that Bo shevism was knocking at their gates; the young men, wh until then had been politically indifferent, were now swep into the ranks. The National Socialist leaders, past master in the art of propaganda, knew how to win over the millions Slogans about the failure of the parliamentary system ran out when the Reichstag, in which party politics had grow more important than common national interests, showe itself incapable of dealing with its difficult task. A sharpe fight against Marxism and the destructive forces of atheis was desired by many, who had for a long time been demandin a more vigorous display of Christian strength. Inte nationalism had dragged Germany from one World Conferenc to another, but all the time the shackles of Versailles wer weighing her down. The nation must be re-awakened. Yout called for a new dynamic; marching and drilling and th

demand for radical solutions are natural to youth in every land. Hitler's alert mind, reacting to all these emotions, gradually evolved a programme which assumed an ever more surprising and fantastic character. What had been announced as a political Weltanschauung emerged from its cocoon metamorphosed into a quasi-religious apocalypse, the vision or dream of a new millennium. But the romance and poetry of this dream-world were soon replaced by the cold prose of brute force, concentration camps and the bloody night of June 30th. The final chapter will probably be written by some very unromantic prose-writer under the title "The Triumph of Reaction."

The Catholic Church could have watched a purely political movement with equanimity. But what is pure politics? Does such a thing exist? No!—to say that there is such a thing as pure politics is to contradict the doctrine of the Kingship of Christ, which teaches that no sphere of life can be fully divorced from religion. It is impossible, therefore, to separate politics from religion and morals without falling into the "pest of laicism." The Catholic Church, in general, was chiefly interested in the Centre Party and democracy. The Catholics of Germany are a minority, and they will always be in danger of losing their political rights, unless they are allowed to take an active part in politics. The Church had no desire to interfere in questions of pure politics; but she was quite entitled to pass judgment on the spiritual foundations of National Socialism. The earliest party programmes declared indeed that National Socialism was based on Christianity, but one could read in the very same programme that the Christian moral code was only recognised in so far as it was not in contradiction with the German interpretation. The so-called German moral code was therefore openly placed above the Christian, and it was taken as the norm of conduct in practical affairs. The well-known anti-Roman feeling, which has been alive in German history for centuries, appeared on all sides. The Church could not allow its members to attach themselves unconditionally to a party at variance with Christianity in such an essential point. The Bishop of Mainz

therefore, and after him others too, forbade their flocks t join the party, and thus a state of war came into being. Bu when Adolf Hitler in his great speech after the Nazi *cou d'etat* openly guaranteed to the Church her rights and he freedom, the bishops ceased to make resistance—not indee because they had put aside their uneasiness, but in the hop that an endurable *modus vivendi*, leading to actual friendl relations, might be found. The result of this frame of min was the Concordat between the German Nazi Governmen and the Holy See, which was signed before the regulation as to the execution of certain extremely important paragraph had been formulated.

A period of adjustment to the new State followed, a perio during which all the organisations in Germany were brough into conformity. Coercion was applied to the Catholi societies which were not of a purely religious character— namely, those devoted to social and charitable work, such as the organisations of workmen, teachers, officials, an especially of youth. Although it was laid down emphatically in the Concordat that the existence of these societies wa guaranteed, nevertheless the new State tried to absorb then into its own organisations. This gave rise to much friction which had to be smoothed out by a great many agreement and compromises. Since the Centre Party existed no longer the negotiations had to take place between the Bishops an the State, and one very soon got the impression that the were purposely prolonged by the State, as if it wanted to wi time to complete the fusion while discussion was still bein dragged out. The societies prepared themselves for defenc with more or less energy according to the circumstances especially the workers' unions and the youth organisations Their fight against absorption is still being waged undecide back and forth, although they are now confined to the spher of purely religious activity. Public meetings have becom increasingly impossible. During this process of forced dis solution there are some who persevere in stubborn and ofte heroic resistance. Amongst the people a conviction ha grown that the State will not yield, that its aim is to forc

he Church back into the sacristy. Opposition to the totali-
arian State, with its claim to control every province of life,
s crushed through the police. What happened during the
pprentice convention in Munich is well known and is in its
vay typical. The members of the Catholic youth organi-
ations are forbidden, even in the streets of a Catholic town,
o unfurl their banners bearing the monogram of Christ,
except in processions or other purely liturgical celebrations.

If Germany were a Catholic country as Italy is, one could
nderstand the Church yielding somewhat in the question
f its societies and organisations. But it is gradually becoming
nore evident that neither is Germany a Catholic land nor is
National Socialism a Christian movement. In the National
Socialist Weltanschauung the race and the so-called race-
oul are the supreme values. Religion must be born out
f the race, and everything must be renounced which is
' artfremd "—foreign to its nature. The Jewish concept of
a transcendent God is opposed to the German concept of
mmanence; the Christian moral code of love must be re-
placed by the German moral code of honour. As Christi-
anity is of Syrian-Jewish-Etruscan origin, all its dogmas are
' artfremd," while the Church itself is not only " artfremd "
ut international. The only sacrament is the sacrament of
lood. The Old Testament, and to a certain extent the New,
re to be replaced by German sacred writings. Bishop Clemens
August Graf Galen of Münster has exposed this teaching
n a courageous pastoral; he even found himself obliged to
all it the teaching of an anti-Church. The significance of
he movement needs no further explanation. The doctrines
re contained in germ in Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and in massive
rudity in Rosenberg's *Mythus des xx. Jahrhunderts*—not to
nention a legion of other books and articles. It was against
his new " religion " that the Church had to fight, and she
ook up arms in the pastoral letters of the bishops, in the
ulpit and in such religious journals as remained in her hands.
The daily press had been " conformed " to such an extent
hat it could only venture cautiously to comment on the
nost crying evils. In this fight a distinction was drawn

between National Socialism and the new paganism, but clear on mere tactical grounds. For the Führer himself admi that he holds these doctrines about race, and he made Rose berg, whose book the Holy Father has placed on the Inde Director of Culture. It is almost impossible to conceive wit what shameless audacity these new doctrines are being drille into the masses and, above all, into the young. In the face o such facts it is easy to understand that the tension betwee the Church and the new paganism is growing more acut everyday. The Protestants found themselves in the sam situation, as is well known. The Catholic Church had nc remained silent about the persecution of the Jews; she ha denounced the Government's unjust and brutal methods she had also denounced the sterilization law, which has alread been applied to thousands. How then could she possibl shirk this fight with the new paganism? But the State ha the power. A large number of priests and leaders of th Catholic youth and of the various societies have been impri soned; and some of the priests have been ill-treated an beaten. The director of Catholic Action in Berlin, Probs and Beiker, both leaders from the youth organisations, an Gerlich, the former editor of *Der Gerade Weg*, were shot dead

The Catholic Church in Germany feels that she has bee dishonourably and unjustly treated. Her opponents did no say that they were out against religion, but they dubbed th Catholic organisations disguised units of the Centre Party They emphasised their own "positive Christianity," whil their prophet, Rosenberg, states expressly in his book tha "negative Christianity" means the old, traditional, alie Christianity of dogma and of the "medicine man" in Rome "positive Christianity" is that which has been freed fron all Jewish taint—namely the German Christianity or, in othe words, the new paganism. It is not surprising therefore tha the *Osservatore Romano* recently declared National Socialism t be worse than Communism. Communism is open in its pro fession of godlessness; National Socialism hides the viles kind of paganism under a Christian name. Religion an politics are confused with one another. The pronouncement

the Church on fundamental moral principles are branded interference in politics. The Nazis have carried their hypocrisy to the extent of claiming that they saved the Church from the menace of Bolshevism; a groundless claim, as there was no danger of Communism at the time when Hitler came to power. But they have made good use of the power which after all they owe to the policy of a Catholic—von Papen. And with what result? Within a year the Catholics have been robbed of every vestige of political influence. Ten thousand Catholic civil servants and officials have been dismissed. The Catholic societies once so prosperous are pining away, half hidden from the light of day. The Catholic scouts and girl-guides have, to a great extent, been forced to join the Hitlerjugend, and the brave survivors are in danger of the same fate. A Catholic press in the true sense of the word is a thing of the past; there are still a few daily papers, but they dare not speak out openly and they are being brought more and more into "conformity." The meeting-houses of the various organisations are the only things left, and the minions of the Government are already prowling around them and estimating their value. The Sacred Mysteries may still be celebrated within the churches. The precincts of the Church in the narrowest sense of the word have not yet been invaded; but the police are becoming inquisitive visitors under the shadow of the law which forbids politics in the pulpit. In a single year the glorious structure which the Catholic organizations had formed has been shaken to its foundations. Germany stands no longer beneath the Cross of Christ, but beneath the Hakenkreuz—the hooked cross, the swastika—which so many enemies of God now salute as the symbol of their heathen "faith."

III

We shall now cast a glance at the methods of resistance employed by the Catholics and at the prospects for the future. We shall begin with those who saw through the National Socialist sham from the very beginning. They declared that compromise was impossible with an enemy whose fundamental principle meant an utter rejection of Christianity. Those

who were of this opinion wanted to join battle immediat and unconditionally, presenting a united battle-front alo the whole line. They were convinced that a decisive res would soon be reached and that Christianity would be v torious. They wanted no compromises ; they saw in Natio Socialism no possibility of development along right lin they expected nothing from negotiations. And facts ha shown that they were right. All negotiations have led on to further losses on the side of the Catholics. In no point importance has National Socialism shown any power of evol tion. It has abandoned its original economic and politic programme, but then economics and politics were not i most vital constituents. Its essential character is the cult the race as a new religion, and this central idea has remain intact. If it were to abandon this idea, it would cease to National Socialism and could hardly be distinguished from t old National Liberalism. Those Catholics who represent this opinion are still convinced that if the others had listen to them, the victory would have been won already. The bring forward the example of the Protestants as an argume in their favour. It proves, they say, that National Socialis would necessarily have yielded before the united forces of t Church ; and if the two Churches had stood shoulder t shoulder in a common defence, success would have come a the sooner.

But as a matter of fact the Church adopted very differen tactics. She made a Concordat with the Government and s declared peace. There were, of course, important ground for such a course of action. It established a code of justic for the settlement of disputes ; and this code is the sole basi and support of the existing organisations and the youth move ment. Appeal to the Concordat made it possible to avoi much bitterness and harshness, to repel many an attack an to force many an enemy from his position. The State ha to recognise, at least formally, the Concordat ; and th Church, in its fight against the new paganism, could appea to the Concordat, and this it did. The fight was not directe against National Socialism as such ; it was conducted on th

s of a distinction between National Socialism and the new anism, between the State and the National Socialist vement. It was often possible to bring the higher lers to such straits that they had to declare themselves sponsible for the actions of their subordinates. No matter much they tried to injure the Catholic youth movement what remained of the Catholic associations, they were vented from taking the final step of suppression. When came to all, the fortune of the National Socialists could not for ever—so this line of thought ran—and one would per- s win a little time. And as a matter of fact we see that power of the Reichswehr has been growing steadily, and power may continue to grow. The revolutionary State yet become a constitutional Fascist State of the upper dle classes. That would mean an end to violence and to boundless power of the present Government. And so Catholics would have warded off a complete collapse. There was, therefore, much to be said for the path which chosen. The bishops were enabled to throw themselves new energy into the renewal of the inner spirit of holicism. There was time for the Church to collect her es. Much good has in truth been accomplished, much ch gives new hope for the future. Bishops and people were er so united as they are to-day. Sacramental life has never rished so vigorously. The revival began with pilgrimages a profession of faith, in which thousands and tens of usands took part. Tens of thousands likewise crowded the churches to hear the sermons of the bishops and the er great preachers, while the sale of the ecclesiastical nals soared rapidly. The Church is facing the coming ggle with confidence and courage. A more joyful frame ind has set in, and a readiness to give battle. The German ops would not withdraw a joint pastoral to-day just to show r wish for peace. They speak out ever more and more rously in defence of the faith of their fathers. Then too time gained has been well used for the refutation of the e scholarly charges made by the enemies of the Church. hole new literature, based on a thorough study of German

antiquity, has come into being. It brings forward new evide from all sides to prove that what is German is not essenti opposed to what is Catholic. The press, too, making use what freedom is still left to it, has displayed a courage wh is worthy of the highest praise. In the light of these facts can certainly say that the Concordat has already done m good, even though developments have not come to an yet.

No one can say how the future is going to crystall Even on the supposition that the Reichswehr calmly sei the reins of power, it would be impossible to foretell anyth definite as to the fate of the Church. She would no lon have to reckon with the methods of the 30th June, it is tru but otherwise it would only mean one unfavourable gove ment instead of another. So far the Reichswehr has no ki of political programme. It might easily remain the sa passive spectator of a life and death struggle between t Church and the National Socialists, as it perforce was of t shooting of General von Schleicher. We can say nothing the likely course of events, if we only consider what is happe ing on the surface ; we may be able to say a little more if study the currents below. Hidden beneath the surface th are tremendous forces which are turned against the Chur and against the foundations of Christianity itself. Natio Socialism has absorbed the old Freemasonry and the Marx atheism, and it has conquered Liberalism by giving it a certa " collective " character. Who can estimate the dama already wrought on the rising generation ! The terri thought persistently recurs that the hour has come wh a second " Reformation " will complete the work of the fir What Luther left standing is threatened with destructi to-day. And just as the effects of the first " Reformation were felt throughout the whole world, those of the seco may too. It is not at all improbable that the great univers heresy of the future may be a kind of national Bolshevis A symptom may be seen in the fact that the Mexican pe secutors of the Church style themselves National Socialist There are other possibilities too—the co-operation of t

estants in stirring up the "furor teutonicus" against
ıe, or the separation of Church and State. The future
rapped in darkness. The German enigma remains.
Germania docet! Is not all this a terrible warning to
ıolics who are now rejoicing in the freedom of democratic
es? Does it not present in a stronger light the problems
tasks which confront Catholics everywhere to-day? The
to Catholic Action resounds throughout the world to-day,
call from the Pope to the laity to take part in the apostolic
k of the hierarchy. God grant that its meaning be not
understood. The phrase Catholic Action is not meant
e a mere catch-word, nor to indicate that we should con-
ourselves and our activity to the purely religious side of
istianity and ignore the demands made on us by public
Which of us would not be glad to renew himself by
icipation in the Eucharistic life of the Church, thus draw-
nearer to that Source from which all life flows! And yet
is not achieved merely by attending church services or
ı by going to the sacraments, while forgetting what the
pel preaches about practical love of our neighbour. It
ıe social question which touches mankind most intimately
ay. It is on account of the misery and want of the masses
the desperate produce their Five Year Plans, visions
mpire of a thousand years and other symptoms of mass-
hosis. The affairs of God and religion have become
many intimately bound up with the question of land, of
se and of wages, as the encyclical *Caritate Christi* clearly
es. We must keep this in mind, we must play a helpful
in that Christianity which, like our Lord, "goes about
g good," the Christianity of the slums of Paris, the
stianity of Don Bosco and Vincent de Paul. Even the
of nature are not respected to-day. That is why Rome,
er the inspiration of the Eternal Logos, traces for us
n—for instance in the encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*—
divine order in the world. There is hardly a bishop who
not found himself compelled in his most recent pastoral
r to defend humanity in the name of God from the forces
h terrorise and exploit it. The sons of the French Revo-

lution were incapable of guaranteeing the rights of which they themselves had proclaimed. That is and w the task alone of the Church, the greatest and only guarantor of freedom which the world has ever known.

Man is ultimately dependent on the soil for support nourishment; but the new development of machinery makes its demands. Under National Socialism many th of real worth, still in the course of their development, fallen into unholy hands. They must be won back again woven in the loom of the Church into a harmonious Chris world. But to-day the social question overshadows all ot in importance. The man who shows himself able to with the greatest sufferings of mankind, is the man who control the future. The bourgeois age is sinking to its c New classes of society are pressing forward into the l of day and on towards leadership. And the most ac and clamant is that class which has endured the most, class of the sufferers. Whoever fought at Verdun and st face to face with death returned a changed man—certa no longer a bourgeois. The so-called bourgeois Christia is absolutely incapable of helping mankind, because i incapable of understanding such terrible suffering, becaus knows nothing of tragedy. Only the Church that has suffe more than the men of to-day, more than Verdun or revolut or inflation or concentration camp, more than the explo masses of factory and slum—only such a Church has the in power to help those who have suffered. The Church o more is standing beneath the Cross. When God at ti permits the destruction of our human culture which has gro up around the Cross, covering and concealing it with blossoms, it is only that we may for a while see the Cr revealed in all its nakedness. Then it is that the turning-po is at hand; for in the Cross is salvation.

GERMANUS

GRICULTURE AND THE SICKNESS OF THE FREE ECONOMY

BY JOSEPH JOHNSTON, M.A., F.T.C.D.

NE wonders sometimes how many people realise that we are passing through a revolutionary era, and that the fate our Western Civilisation depends on its unpredictable e. A glance at similar critical periods in past history a brief analysis of the economic complexities distracting collective life of our neighbours in our own times will haps enable us to examine the more serious symptoms of own disorders with a new understanding of their signifi-ce and possible consequences.

A modern Russian writer, who has known the conditions er which life is lived in Soviet Russia, published in 1926 *cial and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, in which curious reader may observe, if he will, the part played certain economic forces, not at all unknown to-day, in ging about the disintegration and decay of the exchange nomy in the ancient world.

The systematic exploitation of masses of agricultural ducers in the interests of an urban bourgeoisie and pro-riate, and later of a bureaucratic imperialism, took the n of interference with the free functioning of the price em, involving the destruction of the free economy and in end producing an economic situation in which the peasants onger found it worth while to produce on any serious scale exchange. In the end the peasants solved the problem he " uneconomic surplus " by ceasing to produce it, and n they had reached this simple solution the whole elaborate ic of the exchange-economy simply fell to pieces. Dr. tostzeff is " not at all sure that a violent catastrophe ht not bring the modern capitalist world back to the nitive phase of house-economy, as has happened in Russia e the Bolshevik revolution." (p. 484).

The mercantilist States of the seventeenth and eight centuries glorified the functions of urban commerce industry. Each manufacturing interest was able, with co-operation of all too willing Governments and the acc cence of other manufacturing interests, which counte securing similar favours in their turn, to obtain such tective regulations as prevented the "over-supply" o home market. "In the dealings of the different cl within the town with one another none of them," says A Smith, "were losers by these regulations. But in dealings with the country they were all great gainers." Fo he points out later on, "whatever regulations tend to inc those wages and profits beyond what they otherwise woul tend to enable the town to purchase, with a smaller quar of its labour, the produce of a greater quantity of labou the country."

Let any thoughtful person say whether this is not a fea of the new national economy which is growing up be our eyes.

The Physiocratic School of Political Economists was of the precursors of the French Revolution; its criticism analysis of eighteenth century relations between agricul and industry incidentally produced some of the most manently valid arguments in favour of Free Trade, emphasised in particular the fundamental importance Free Trade, in the widest sense, to the agriculturist and to community as a whole.

The Mercantilist was all in favour of freedom of exp for manufactured goods and restriction on the export food and raw materials. The Physiocrat demanded freed of export for agricultural goods, since in no other way co the surplus-producing farmer be assured of a square de and thus be put on terms of greater economic equality wi the urban industrialist.

With the help of our neighbours, who, by a stroke political genius, have been induced to undertake the u popular task of restricting the free export of our agricultu surpluses, our industrial revivalists have been placed in t

nomic environment desiderated by the Mercantilists and ored by the Physiocrats.

Will the *intelligentsia* of our agriculture come to regard industrialists, new and old, as a "sterile class," or will few remaining "ranchers" play the part of the landed tocracy of eighteenth century France and become the victims of our agrarian revolutionaries?

We are, however, more concerned with the essential ability of industrial development procured on mercantilist ciples. Hitherto the world depression—though it has sed a disastrous reduction in the volume of *industrial* duction, and the ravages of urban unemployment in consequence, widespread—has produced no serious uction in the volume of *agricultural* production as a whole. there has been a significant shifting of the proportions which different continental areas are contributing to the regate result. High-cost production of agricultural goods ncreasing in Europe, and low-cost production of similar ds is diminishing in the North American continent. Thus world as a whole is becoming impoverished.

If we look more closely at the economic circumstances of ntries like the U.S.A. or Ireland which are admirably pted by nature to maintain and expand the volume of cultural production, we find, as in the former country, public authorities strenuously exerting themselves to uce the agricultural output, or, as in our own, overwhelm- economic forces coming into operation which must shortly uce very considerably the volume of agricultural pro- tion, and which must operate with cumulative increase orce as time goes on.

The professed notion of our modern Mercantilists is to vide a market for agricultural surpluses within the national nomy by the development of non-agricultural industry. It is convenient to tabulate here the facts and figures ch must be taken into account in the application of such a cy. They are derived from obvious official sources, but e of them are available in a more convenient form in an cle by the present writer on "The Purchasing-Power of

Irish Free State Farmers in 1933," which appeared in *Economic Journal* of September 1934. I must continu regard the calculations, on which the figures given in article are based, as reliable until they are proved other by official investigation.

Number of persons occupied in agriculture in 1926 :—			
(*a*) Farmers and relatives assisting			53
(*b*) Wage-paid labour			13
Total			67
Number of agricultural holdings in 1933			378
Number of persons engaged in industrial occupations in 1929			106
Total net output of industry			£24,932
Salaries and wages cost of net output			£14,269
Remainder of net output			£10,663
Net output per person engaged			£
Total occupied persons 12 years and over in 1926 ..			1,307,
Number engaged in agricultural occupations ..			672,
Other producers, makers and repairers			194,
Workers in transport, communication, commercial, financial, and professional occupations, etc. ..			440,
Total population in 1926			2,971,
Agricultural community			1,815,
Non-agricultural community			1,156,
Aggregate money-receipts of Irish Free State farmers in 1929-30—			
From Home Market ..	£13,193,000	..	
From Export Market ..	32,188,000		£45,381,0
Aggregate money expenses (est.)			£17,000,0
Net money income			£28,381,0
Aggregate money-receipts of Irish Free State farmers in 1933—			
From Home Market ..	£12,354,500	..	
From Export Market ..	14,354,500		£26,709,0

egate money expenses (est.)	£10,000,000
money-income	£16,709,000
money income per person in 1929-30	£42 5s.
money income per person in 1933	£24 17s.

After paying their overhead charges and raw material of production in 1929-30, our farmers and farm workers £28,000,000 to spend on non-agricultural goods in general. a portion of this money was available for expenditure industrial " goods, the net output of which was £25,000,000 929. But it does not appear that there was room for considerable expansion of industrial output so far as cultural purchasing-power was concerned.

When we come to 1933 we find that the net money income ur agricultural producers is down to £17,000,000. Since n wages, salaries and profits, per person occupied, have diminished since 1929, we seem justified in concluding the undoubted industrial expansion that has taken e in recent years has not been based on exchanges with ers, but on the exchanges of our 1,200,000 members of non-agricultural community with one another.

A glance at the above figures will show that there was a wide arity in the money-incomes per person occupied in agri- ure and industry, even in 1929 ; but, when we take other ortant factors into consideration, perhaps their real in- es were not so widely different. On the other hand an age money-income of £25 per person occupied in agricul- in 1933 does seem rather out of gear with an average ey income of more than £100 per person occupied in stry, even if we add as much as £15 per annum to the er figure to represent the value of farm produce con- d in farm households. This is the statistical and financial t of the present tendency to desert the fields for the factory or workshop. Let us consider, for a moment, a really free economy would operate to bring about a and stable adjustment. Afterwards we can inquire ner the existing rigidities of our economy, whatever origin, have not in fact made it incapable of any self-

regulating adjustment—in which case we shall be ju in foreseeing a breakdown of economic and, perhaps, of order.

Looked at from the point of view of available man- to be absorbed in industry, there is undoubtedly a su of about 100,000 workers, occupied in agriculture, who be transferred to industry without diminishing the produ capacity of our agriculture. In that case 670,000—10 or 570,000 agricultural workers would continue to pro and sell, at 1933 prices, a surplus of £27,000,000 wor agricultural goods in addition to what they produce for own subsistence. Over against that, 207,000 indu workers would produce, at the 1929 wages, salaries and level, £48,000,000 worth of industrial goods. It is obvious that farmers selling goods to the value of £27,00 —out of which they must pay £10,000,000 in produ expenses—cannot buy industrial goods valued at £48,000 There remains also the unpleasant fact that more than the farmers' money receipts are derived from sales in ex markets, and therefore are rather precarious in origin. " home market " only absorbed home-produced agricul goods to the value of £12,400,000 in 1933. What the fa got in exchange for this money includes, not only a c paratively small proportion of home-made " industri goods, but everything in the way of commercial, professio transport and government service rendered by more 600,000 persons engaged in non-agricultural occupation

It does not follow that economic equilibrium is incap of being established on these lines. It is theoretically ceivable that our farmers may continue to exchange a l quantity of agricultural goods at low prices for a small quan of non-agricultural goods and services at high prices. non-agricultural community will thus have a large sur of goods and services to exchange and enjoy among th selves. It is the human equilibrium which is in danger being upset. The underlying economic assumption is t 570,000 agricultural producers should be content to w for an average money income of less than £30 per ann

contemplate without envy or malice an urban paradise hich average salaries and wages exceed £100 per annum. e than two angels with flaming swords will be needed to o our agricultural producers from flocking into this new n; and this natural human urge will provide the real of the adaptability and consequent stability of our nomy. If wages, salaries and prices remain rigidly fixed urban industry, commerce, transport, government and er services, there must eventually ensue chronic and easing urban unemployment. On the other hand, if the easing supply of labour, capital and enterprise, transing its services to non-agricultural occupations, is allowed produce its natural effect in bringing down the money-e of these several factors and, in consequence, the final es of non-agricultural goods and services, a new equilibrium be established in which agricultural production, as a le, will diminish less disastrously, while the farmer will a larger volume of non-agricultural goods and services, ower prices, in exchange for not much less than the usual ntity of agricultural goods sold for money.

Actually all sorts of efforts will be made to prevent this ural economic adjustment from taking place. We live n era in which the State is more and more committed to development of humanitarian social policies, admirable themselves but burdensome to national budgets, and all ding more or less to enhance the cost of non-agricultural ducts, especially those produced under sheltered conditions. ny of these policies have much to recommend them *in umstances in which the national wealth as a whole is tending ncrease*. But when a situation exists in which the rapid ay of agricultural production cannot be balanced by any sible development of non-agricultural wealth, the attempt combine seventeenth century economics with twentieth tury social policies can only lead to national disaster.

Our urban-minded politicians and trade unionists con-tly overlook the fact—which indeed has escaped the ce of many economists—that agriculture sets the pace ny possible development of the economic welfare of all.

A hundred years ago the United States was practicall supporting in the matter of food supplies—and three-f of the occupied population was engaged in agriculture day that same country is, to all intents and purposes supporting in the same matter; but only one-fourth occupied population is engaged in agriculture. The in in the efficiency of agriculture, and a considerable expa in the output per agricultural worker, made possib transfer of vast numbers of an increasing population to occupations, which enriched the community as a wh

Output per man occupied has increased in our co as well as in the United States, *and is nowhere higher in large "mixed" farms where much machinery is used.* surplus wealth produced by such agricultural workers i unseen foundation of much of our exchange economy. merce and industry can only develop as the efficienc agriculture increases in this essential respect

On the other hand, if we look at the output per acr find that the output of oats has only increased from cwt. in 1847 to 19.7 cwt. in 1926, and potatoes from 4.4 in 1850 to 6.0 tons in 1913 and 5.2 tons in 1926. The l less potentialities of wealth-production by the aid of mo machinery, technique, and credit facilities are a favo theme of many well-meaning reformers; but their experi is confined to industry, and they have not learnt economics in the hard school of Nature, which farmers perforce attend.

If we look at the world as a whole, "it is clear that difficult to uphold the view that there is any great am of over-production of agricultural products at the pre time. On the contrary, a comparatively slight change demand might well reveal a problem of under-production scarcity." (*World Economic Survey*, 1932-33, p. 78, 79

And yet we find, in one country after another, such tions between agricultural and non-agricultural prices must in a short time destroy large masses of agricult production, and threaten our over-grown towns not with wide-spread unemployment but with actual starvat

f this result actually comes about, responsibility for the uction of Western civilisation will rest with our modern omic "Planners" and their Mercantilist accomplices, thought they could improve the working of the Free nomy, but were unwilling to study, or unable to under-d, the essential characteristics which make it the only native to Bolshevism or chaos.

The above remarks have been suggested by a recent sal of Dr. Knapp's *World Dislocation and World Recovery*, sub-title of which is "Agriculture as the Touchstone of Economic World Events."[1] When one comes across a er who has published certain views and ideas which have some time been germinating in one's own brain, one's reaction is to say "Pereant omnes qui ante nos nostra rint." But this sentiment would indicate a mercantilist t of envy, malice and all uncharitableness—which, I sure, Dr. Knapp would regard as unworthy of a fellow-er after truth. Accordingly I congratulate him whole-tedly on a book which brings into the light of day aspects conomic truth which have fallen into undeserved oblivion. he same time he shows all too clearly how appropriate are to our modern economic diseases—which, indeed, not so very modern after all. Further study of the omy of economic relations, within and between "national" omics, is very much to be recommended. Our politicians done their best to facilitate the study of economic omy, and there is no lack of "subjects."

JOSEPH JOHNSTON

[1] London: King. 1935. 10s. 6d.

THE CHRISTIAN APOLOGISTS AND THE CYNIC TRADITION

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IT is a well-known fact that the preachers and apolog of early Christianity, from St. Paul down to St. Jero and still later, were always at pains to emphasise their relia upon "the Spirit and Power" and their indifference, o reaching hostility, to "the wisdom of the wise." The preachers of the Gospel were fishermen and small farm Jews who had little or no share in the culture of the Gr cities, and whose tradition since the days of the Macchab it had always been to hate and despise everything Gre Even St. Paul himself, brought up as a citizen of the Emp in a Greek city, seems to have acquired the subtle Helle colouring that can here and there be distinguished in thought rather from philosophising Jews like Philo of Al andria than from any direct contact. It was inevitable th the language of Christianity should from the first be t Greek which had in a sense become the universal Medit ranean tongue; but the Greek of the New Testament a the Apostolic Fathers is of a kind which the educated of t time would hardly regard as their language at all. It var from the sheer contempt for grammar of the Apocalyp to the tumultuous lava-like flow of St. Paul and the straigh forward simplicity of the Acts; but nowhere does it in t least attempt to follow the rules of educated Greek pros writing. That this was more than a mere accident, that it w in fact a permanent bias in Christianity, is shown by the fier hostility to Graeco-Roman culture of apologists like Tati and Tertullian, by the famous dream in which St. Jeron saw himself denounced as a Ciceronian, by the statemer of Synesius that "the Holy Spirit despises the niceties prose style," and by the often-repeated outburst of St. Grego the Great "indignum vehementer existimo ut verba caelest oraculi restringam sub regulis Donati."

'he violence of this hostility to letters and culture went
:times so far, as in the case of the sentence from St.
;ory just quoted, that it seemed to threaten the very
ibility of articulate or intelligible expression. Extremists
: almost ready to apply Our Lord's saying about the rich
, the camel, and the needle's eye to all who had received
'eek education. " Quid simile," says Tertullian, " philoso-
s et Christianus, Graeciae discipulus et caeli ? " Tatian
's at the grammarians who divide time into past, present
future, and Arnobius denounces the " pompa sermonis "
ch pays attention to cases, prepositions, participles and
junctions. It would be a mistake to suppose that such
iments as these are peculiar to a few notoriously violent
ers. Even Lactantius, the " Christian Cicero," St. Augus-
, St. John Chrysostom, and St. Basil himself, whose
tise on the necessity for reading the classical authors is
ly famous, find themselves impelled on occasion to speak
similar, if less extravagant style. Down till the period
inal victory after the death of Julian the Apostate, the
istians were always conscious of a strain between their
h and the civilisation they saw around them. For three
turies they were told, and for the most part felt themselves,
t they were barbarians, outside the pale of society, speak-
in an unintelligible language about incredible things.
ey were accustomed by experience to feel themselves on
evel with the wild beasts and the outcasts who slew each
er in the circus for the savage amusement of the Roman
b. Their converts were, both by choice and by necessity,
inly won from among the half-Hellenised or half-Romanised
er classes of a society aristocratic to a point scarcely con-
vable to-day. Among the humble and despised denizens
he poorer quarters of Rome, Antioch, or Alexandria, while
y were all familiar with Greek, it is hardly likely that
re was much enthusiasm or understanding for Greek
tural and educational traditions. It is not much wonder,
view of this so-frequently expressed attitude, that the
istians have in many quarters been held responsible for
decay of ancient civilisation as a whole.

There is, however, another side to the picture, represents more nearly the real facts of the case. brilliant American scholar and writer, Paul Elmer Mor his great work *The Greek Tradition*, has put forward the t that there exists, in the development of ancient thoug straight and central line from Plato to the Fathers of fourth century A.D., that the latter, and not the neo-plato or any other pagan school or sect, were the real heirs of former, and that all who departed from that central Platt tradition (Mr. More delights in calling them "m physicians") were alike heretics, whether pagan or Christ Mr. More is not incapable of occasional extravagances, his work is most valuable as expressing what is essenti the truth about the relations between Christianity and anci civilisation. That truth is that the Christian faith came to destroy but to complete, and that its vigour and its cent clarity were essential if the civilisation of Greece was to saved from perishing of its own vices and weaknesses. Chris anity brought back real freedom into a world which had l it after a heroic struggle, and by giving a meaning to life gave a rational basis to culture. Far from being merely t most successful of a horde of Oriental invaders, it was the on force capable of protecting what was best in the Greek trad tion against the danger of submergence in internal a external barbarism; and by its double character of religio and philosophy it gave ancient society the unity which wa needed to keep its upper and lower divisions from driftin irreparably apart. Not alone did it preserve intact for Europ the Platonic and Aristotelian tradition which ultimatel created modern scientific and technical civilisation; it also made its own and by so doing protected the co-equal and ofte rival Greek idea of education by the study and imitation o past models in prose and poetry.

It was the adaptation of the Greek educational tradition, side by side with Greek philosophy, to Christian purposes by Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and the fourth century bishops that finally settled the "ancient feud between philosophy and poetry" of which Plato makes Socrates speak in the

h book of his *Republic*. The opposition to Hellenism of early Christian apologists was indeed partly rooted in the ness and strangeness of their faith with its Jewish origin its reliance upon ancient Jewish prophecy; but it was, ost to an equal extent, merely the continuance, in a more te phase, of a division which had for centuries persisted he heart of Hellenism itself. Not enough attention has n paid to the origin, nature, and strength of this division o its importance for the complete understanding of the y Christian attitude. Apologists like Aristides, Justin, enagoras, and Tatian were all converts and all of one kind. y were trained in early life in the methods and ideas of ertain type of Greek philosopher, represented in their time, the second century A.D., by Justin's deadly onent Crescens and by Peregrinus, whose self-immolation been made famous by Lucian. These philosophers, who elled about from city to city and preached virtue to the mon people, while being strict individualists, all gave nselves out as followers of Diogenes "the Dog," a half-ek from Sinope who had lived in Athens during the latter of the fourth century B.C. Diogenes, in his lifetime a l and critic of Plato's, was himself a pupil of Antisthenes, evoted follower of Socrates. How Diogenes came to be ned "the Dog" is not certain, but it is probable that he udly adopted a name thrown at him in contempt by nbers of Plato's school to describe his strange way of life. his doctrine he claimed to be a true follower of Plato's ter, and once referred to himself as "a mad Socrates." r him his followers gloried in the name of Cynics, "dis-es of the Dog." They spread all over the Greek world, were still to be met with as late as the sixth century A.D. as almost inevitable that the earliest Christian apologists, r the Gospel had spread far outside Jewish circles, should e from among these philosophers; for they were the only who were at once intimate with the poor and capable naking themselves heard by the rich.

We easily make the mistake, because our documents are ty and poor in literary quality, of minimising the import-

ance in the Hellenistic and Roman age of this Cynic move
Its origins are obscure and covered by a confused ma
untrustworthy anecdote; and so scholars are tempted
to leave it to one side or to neglect its real character.
particular its debt to the teaching of Socrates and its
as in a sense a continuance of that teaching are apt to b
out of account. Thus so great an authority as Prof
A. E. Taylor, at the end of his recent valuable little stud
Socrates, goes so far as to deny that Antisthenes was
his disciple. "For all purposes of importance," he
"Socrates had just one successor, Plato." With every d
ence to so weighty an opinion, there can be no doubt
these conclusions are grievously erroneous. Not alone
Socrates the progenitor of Plato and through him of Arist
but he was almost to an equal degree the ancestor in
intellectual sense of the Cynic and Cyrenaic schools,
through them directly of the great Stoic and Epicurean mo
ments whose importance for all later antiquity cannot
be exaggerated. Plato and Aristotle may have been Socr
in a more "orthodox" sense, and of course their intellect
achievement is out of all comparison with that of their riv
This does not make them so much more important in act
life as to give them an exclusive claim to be the uniq
successors of the common master. Indeed it is just on th
side of his teaching which we can say was most indubital
his own, that the Cynics and Stoics in particular may
claim to their fullest share in his legacy. Above all thin
they emphasised the primacy of virtue and its utter ind
pendence of worldly goods, fortune, style, or culture; a
as part of this teaching they were generally marked by t
selfsame hostility to fine literature, learning, and art th
is so characteristic of Christian converts from Cynicism li
Tatian.

The three watchwords of Cynicism, we are told by Lucia
were self-sufficiency, freedom, and fearlessness of speech
They carried their devotion to these standards to length
that nowadays seem scarcely credible. They rejected a
claims of State, society or family; they abjured all righ

roperty, and we are told about Crates, pupil of Diogenes, he sold all his considerable possessions and distributed proceeds among the citizens. Incidentally we must note a difference from the Christians who distributed theirs ng the *poor;* the idea hardly occurred to the pagan of ing the distinction. They wandered all over the world, only goods being a single garment, the short cloak ōn), the beggar's wallet (*pēra*) and the traveller's stick. interesting to remark that in St. Luke's Gospel our Lord s forth His disciples with the injunction: "Take nothing your journey, neither stick nor wallet, nor bread, nor ey; neither have two cloaks." The Christian mission- were to be humbler and less well-provided even than the ing Cynics. The followers of Diogenes went to absurd ths in their endurance of hardship, being notorious for long beards and general foulness, and often going out heir way to demonstrate their fortitude. Their models his were Socrates, whose indifference to physical discom- is praised by Plato, especially his endurance of cold; genes, who outdid them all in the extravagances of his ticism; and the hero Hercules, who like them went about world suffering and doing good, and whose legendary h by voluntary burning on Mount Oeta was imitated by an's *bête noire,* Peregrinus. Not unnaturally, many of n crossed the often narrow border between asceticism and ntation. The resemblance between their performances those of Indian *yogis* of to-day has frequently been noted. We cannot always, unfortunately, be sure in the case of ates how far our accounts of him in the works of Aris- anes, Plato, and Xenophon are coloured by the respective oses of these authors. This is particularly so in the case lato, who did undoubtedly attribute to his master much was really his own. It is all the more interesting to find Socrates even as Plato depicts him was not at all far from deal Cynic hero. His central doctrine of the supremacy irtue was certainly like theirs without the extravagance heir practice; though even Plato lets us see that on sion Socrates also could be extravagant enough. We

usually suppose that in the *Republic* Plato departs far f his master's views. Yet even so striking a detail as the c munity of wives and children, recommended in that work the oligarchy of wise men who are to rule the perfect st is closely similar to a notorious Cynic ideal. This is the c also with the doctrine of the philosopher-king; and ind one of the best tests for the genuineness of the Plato Socrates is that of conformity with Cynic teaching. If Plat Socrates is stripped of the Theory of Forms, of his mat matical interests, and of his fondness for the making of detail constitutions, we get near enough to the Cynic hero to ma very evident the close connection between them. For o present purposes all we need examine is the attitude of t Platonic Socrates to literature, which gives us the startin point of the movement that we have already observed amo the Christian apologists.

When Plato makes Socrates speak of a feud betwe philosophy and poetry, he is using the first term in a wid and the second in a narrower sense than we should now gi them. He means a feud between morality and literatur Socrates was himself the father of moral philosophy, the fir man to raise ethics to the status of a science. His conte poraries, the Sophists, whom the Athenians found it so ha to distinguish from him, were the real founders of literatur in our sense of the word. They owe their claim to this tit to two achievements: they created artistic prose-writin and they made the study and imitation of poetry and pros the essential element of liberal education. Like Molière' M. Jourdain, most people naturally think that everything which is not poetry is prose and that everything which i not prose is poetry. This assertion, to an educated Greek, would be so strange that he would hardly see the humour o it. To him, after the great Sophists—Protagoras, Thrasy- machus, and Gorgias in particular—had done their work, there was all the difference in the world between the language of ordinary speech, which he called "strung-together" lan- guage, and that of artistic prose, which he called "rhetoric" and which, as a deliberately organised means for self-expres-

was on a level with that of poetry. Before the coming he Sophists, there was little Greek prose literature, and t there was owed its value more to its subject than to its . After they had done their work, all prose-writing, her for purposes of oratory, history or discussion in ral, was submitted to the rules they made. Their work completed fully by Isocrates, the pupil of Gorgias and of Plato; and there is a clear and obvious line of con- ty, through Cicero and his Renaissance imitators, between rates and modern prose. When we speak of ancient oric and rhetorical schools, we mean schools in which ls were taught to compose in the prose-style fashionable he time. Aristotle already recognised that prose-writing very kind is included under the term "rhetoric."

The Sophists not only created prose-writing; they also ted the science of grammar, and they were the first to ematise the use of literature as a medium of education. ore them it was a custom of immemorial antiquity to use national poets in this way. Both Homer and the tragedians, well as the great lyric poets, were looked on as having a l capacity; they gave pleasure, but especially they were hers, and from them men learned war, citizenship, ality, and even business methods. It is highly probable the Druids in Celtic countries did no more than systema- this idea that poetry and wisdom were identical: they were poets, law-givers, diviners, seers, and general isers all at once. The Sophists made an end in Greece his exclusive claim on the part of the poets, and they did by co-ordinating poetry with the new medium of artistic e and making the study of both the basis of education. was their work, as completed by Isocrates, that created a conscious Hellenic tradition and identified Hellenism no er with birth but with knowledge and training, thus paring it for its task of becoming a world-civilisation. y and their successors, the "rhetorical" teachers, were guardians of the tradition both as to its content of religion, nd, history, and custom, its peculiar concept of civic ality, and its form of self-expression. It is remarkable

that very early they began to set themselves against indiscriminate innovations in language and style, and that ultimately their movement produced the reaction to the standards of pure fourth-century Attic Greek which under the early Roman Empire swept all before it. This reaction in turn was to exercise a retarding influence on the development of modern European vernaculars and to produce the peculiar division between the "purist" and the "popular" languages that troubles the Greek people to the present day.

What marks out Socrates from among the Sophists with whom public opinion confounded him is his uncompromising hostility to all this new literary movement. This hostility he passed on to all his successors, and the relation of the later philosophic schools to literature and literary culture is a most interesting chapter of history that has never been fully written. There is no doubt that Plato in his dialogues faithfully represents this aspect of his master's doctrine. Socrates never wrote anything himself, probably because he despised fine writing and believed that direct contact of mind with mind is essential to all ethical training, which was his predominant interest. Plato on the contrary wrote much, but his achievement was to give a unique literary form to the Socratic method of discussion by conversation; and until the end of his days he protested that no one could acquire true wisdom from books. The Socratic prejudice against literature as a medium of instruction comes out over and over again in Plato, from the early dialogue *Ion* to the *Philebus*, written in the last fifteen or so years of his life. We see it plainly enough in the *Apology*, Plato's version of Socrates' defence at his trial in 399, and we have other evidence which suggests that it was actually made part of the indictment. In the *Apology* Socrates is made to tell how he went about testing the wisdom of politicians, poets, and handicraftsmen, and found that all were less wise than himself because he alone was conscious of his own ignorance. Both in the paradoxical nature of this conclusion and in the details of its formulation we have evidence that once more recalls to us the Cynic hero. Socrates found that the politicians were the worst of all, because they

knew least and claimed to know most. The poets came off second, because although, under a kind of excitement or inspiration, they could write well, they were as incapable of giving a rational account of their writings as any one at all, while they claimed universal competence as educators and sages. The handicraftsmen were the least bad, because they at any rate knew their own jobs. Where they failed was in thinking that this knowledge qualified them to express opinions on everything. This "transvaluation of values," which "put the lowest on top," to use two phrases attributed to Diogenes, was typical of the Cynic attitude in later times.

The most famous discussion of poetry by Socrates is in the *Republic*, and here we can see how painful it was to the great artist Plato to follow his severe master. All poetry is banished from the ideal state, except hymns to gods and encomiums of good men. That is to say, poetry must be made to subserve a purely religious and moral purpose. Socrates gives two very interesting reasons for this rigorous treatment. In the first place poetry, even that of Homer and the great tragedians, has little or no relation to truth. Poets write under a kind of inspiration, which gives them artistic skill, but is no guarantee at all of their moral or intellectual qualities, their competence as teachers or sages. This is a criticism the full force of which seems to be rarely appreciated, though as great to-day as ever it was. Nothing is so widespread, even in our scientific age, as the belief that literary skill necessarily carries with it other virtues as well. Thus the Germans make a sage of Goethe, the Russians of Tolstoi or Dostoevsky, the French of Montaigne, the English of Hardy, and the latest best-seller is asked for his opinion on everything under the sun. The second count in the Socratic indictment is the equally good point that in fact Greek poetry so far had contained a great deal that was immoral or otherwise unsound and injurious to the soul. This was a direct consequence of its close pre-occupation with mythology, and the accusation was not new; it had been made long before by Xenophanes, while many of the poets, like Pindar and Euri-

pides, were fully conscious of its truth, and had offered cures for it that were often worse than the disease.

Plato was perhaps himself responsible for the touchingly regretful tone in which Socrates was made to pronounce his decree of banishment against Homer, and for the challenge to lovers of poetry to come to her defence if they could. He makes less effort to defend prose-literature, which Socrates treats with equal severity in the *Gorgias*. In its case the charges are essentially the same, although that of positive immorality takes a different form because prose was less bound up with tradition. Skill in writing, Socrates says, is not an art or a science, and is strictly irrelevant to goodness and knowledge, which he holds to be identical. It is a mere "knack" acquired like any other by practice, and it has been used, not for any positive moral purpose, but to "flatter," to play up to the public and corrupt its taste. A further argument, which emerges from other dialogues and is perhaps Plato's own, is that the practitioners of this "knack," men like Gorgias and Protagoras, were deeply infected with the agnosticism and scepticism on religious and moral questions that characterised the age. Protagoras had written a book in which he expressed uncertainty as to the existence of gods and Gorgias had denied the possibility of knowledge altogether. To the Sophists, in fact, "virtue" had still its old connotation; the Greek word *aretē* meant "capacity," and indicated a quality directed uniquely towards external accomplishment. They had no conception of morals other than the traditional Greek one of obedience to compulsion, and they held in general that man's nature rightly rebelled against this compulsion and that the wise man should make himself free. Socrates was equally clear about the necessity for freedom, and if anything more radical in this respect than any Greek of his age. His originality lay in having a new conception of man's nature and of the soul. He preached a new kind of virtue, directed inwards, and working by way of struggle, sacrifice, and negation towards self-knowledge and self-mastery. The teaching of the Sophists culminated in what we should now call atheistic Humanism. That of Socrates was

historically destined to become a *praeparatio evangelica*, to prepare the Greek mind for the Incarnation. Because of this intrinsic opposition, the struggle between philosophy and literature was from the first severe.

Antisthenes is reported to have taught a doctrine of virtue which is clearly derived from that of Socrates. The truly wise man's virtue, he said, is self-sufficient, and needs no graces of learning or literary style. It is expressed not in words but in deeds, and the strength of a Socrates is all that it requires. It consists, like that of Socrates, in self-mastery, *askēsis*—to use the term bequeathed by Socrates through the Cynics and Stoics to the Christian hermits of a later day. Although Socrates thus repudiated the claims of poets, Sophists, and men of science—about whose futility we get his opinion in Plato's *Phaedo*—and insisted so spectacularly in making no such claims for himself, it is characteristic of his paradoxical mentality that he consistently used Sophistic literary devices in order to preach his own gospel of sovereign virtue. The dialogues of Plato, which purport to reproduce his conversations, are enough to prove this; it is made particularly evident in Plato's *Apology*, which we are entitled to take as representing his actual speech at his trial. It is a magnificent realisation of the ideal set forth in the *Gorgias*, where he maintained that the sole legitimate use of the rhetorical style is to impress the truth on one's hearers. The paradox of the *Apology* is to be explained, not as was done by the late Professor Bury, by saying that Socrates made a "hedonistic calculation" between death and exile, and preferred the latter, but rather by realising that death was supremely indifferent to him and that his one object was to tell the truth about his life. It has long been recognised that in form the *Apology* is a masterpiece of technical rhetoric. This use of the literary weapon for a special purpose, coupled with a general contempt for literature in itself, is a recurrent feature both of Cynic and Stoic preaching and of Christian Apologetics from Tertullian to St. John Chrysostom.

The war thus proclaimed at their origin between Socratic moral philosophy and literature in the Sophistic sense was

destined to go through many phases before the days of St. Basil and St. Benedict. Plato's pupil Aristotle took up his master's challenge to the friends of literature, and wrote as well as lectured on poetics and rhetoric. The treatises that we possess owe their unliterary quality to the fact that they consist of his lecture-notes, which they only partially preserve. His school, the Lyceum, was always friendly to literary studies, and it is a strange reversal of fortune that the Alexandrian Library, which was to do so much both for literature and criticism, was first organised by one of his pupils, thus owing its ultimate origin to Socrates himself. Plato's Academy, on the other hand, maintained its hostility for more than a century. It was only when a sceptical philosophy had for the time being ousted the genuine Platonic tradition that "rhetorical" exercises were admitted into it, but when they came, they did so with a vengeance. Carneades, the Academician who came to Rome in 155 B.C., was hardly distinguishable from a Sophist, and after him Philo of Larissa made the Academy into a school of rhetoric for a period. The Socratic tradition in this respect was more loyally maintained by the Cynics, Cyrenaics, and their successors. At the beginning of the third century B.C. the Stoic and Epicurean schools were founded to preach two widely different philosophies of conduct, which yet strangely were both derived from the teaching of Socrates. The ideal of the Epicureans was *ataraxia*, mental calm, and the enjoyment of rational pleasure. They were not mere sensualists by any means, and they adhered to the Socratic view that style is irrelevant; the fragments of Epicurus are noteworthy for their absolute simplicity and absence of all attempt at literary form. The Stoics, whose ideal was *apatheia*, indifference, were really only Cynics devoid of the excesses which had made Diogenes and Crates so notorious. Zeno, the first Stoic, was a pupil of Crates, and merely combined a rationalised Cynic morality with a rather pretentious edifice of logic and physics. Like the Cynics, the followers of Zeno despised literary grace, and the writings of later Stoics like Seneca and Epictetus are full of warnings against it. Marcus Aurelius,

ne Stoic Emperor, actually gives thanks at the beginning f his *Meditations* that he has not spent too long over nor rogressed too far in "rhetoric and poetry and other such xercises."

The Stoics did not go to the same extremes as their Cynic rototypes in denying civilisation and reducing human life o the level of the brutes. They compromised to some extent vith the State and acted as advisers to rulers; thus we find phaerus with Cleomenes of Sparta, Blossius with Tiberius racchus, Seneca with Nero, and finally Marcus Aurelius imself realising, with extraordinary sadness, the Socratic ream of a philosopher-king. This compromise with civilisation was, however, never better than uneasy. The ideals of self-sufficiency, freedom, and fearlessness of speech were difficult to reconcile with Roman government in particular. Thus we find under the early Caesars a Stoic opposition only a little less violent than that of the Cynics who made themselves famous by bearding Nero, Vespasian, or Titus; and it is probably not without significance that the rule of a Stoic Emperor was the prelude to the century of civil war which so nearly destroyed ancient civilisation altogether. The truth was that the Stoics no less than the Cynics provided the Hellenistic and Roman world with a revolutionary element not altogether dissimilar from that released by the French Enlightenment of the eighteenth century on modern Europe. Rousseau's first work, the *Discours sur les Sciences et les Arts*, in all probability owed its paradoxical hostility to civilisation to his miscellaneous reading in Latin literature, which is almost one long Stoic commonplace-book. It has been remarked that Cynicism, like Christianity, was the doctrine of outcasts, and that many of its adherents were either half-Greek or not Greek at all. It preached universal brotherhood; Diogenes described himself as a citizen of the world, and the idea of the "noble savage," so dear to Rousseau, was first propagated by Cynic and Stoic teachers. It had many estimable features, but they were sadly marred by being exaggerated to the point almost of madness. Nowadays we are apt to find the endless moralisings of its adherents, of which

echoes are to be found in the most unlikely writers, such as Juvenal and Martial, and which so tirelessly repeat the same stereotyped formulas, extremely dull; but none the less Cynicism did succeed in erecting on a purely human foundation a heroic morality which did much to sweeten the decay of paganism.

The great Cynic vehicles for their preaching were two: the verse parody or miscellany, which contributed a great deal to Roman satire, and the Diatribe. This latter was a very characteristic development of the Socratic dialogue-form, perfected in the generation after Diogenes by Bion of Borysthenes. It was a kind of one-man dialogue, in which the speaker frequently addressed an imaginary opponent, whose objections he introduced by means of a parenthetical "says he." In style the Diatribe was marked by extreme vigour, frequently rising to theatricality, by short pointed sentences and by a liberal use of all the tricks of rhetoric. In language it was violent and variegated, full of neologisms and words drawn from ordinary speech. The theatricality and freedom of expression beloved by the Cynics made them favour what came to be known as the "Asianic" style of composition, between which and the orthodox traditionalism of the rhetoricians there developed a bitter war. As time went on the Cynic style as well as their favourite themes and forms of expression penetrated into the hostile camp of the rhetorical schools. Against their florid type of oratory the Atticist reaction, represented in the East by writers like Lucian and Dio Chrysostom and in the West by Cicero and Quintilian, was an effective protest, which indeed may be said to have preserved the tradition of classical prose. Writers like Seneca the Younger and Tacitus are perhaps the finest examples of the florid and pointed style; but whereas Seneca was a Stoic by profession, Tacitus was an individualist of genius, who more than most ancient writers stamped his own personality on all he wrote. The Diatribe was of lasting influence on literature, for it was the prototype of the sermon, and St. Gregory of Nazianzus and St. John Chrysostom, for all their occasional repudiations of any pretence at style, are

n the full Asianic tradition. In this paradoxical attitude hey show once more the enduring influence of the Cynic nd Socratic idea.

It is inferred from a passage in one of Seneca's letters that t was the great Stoic and Eclectic, Posidonius of Apamea, he contemporary of Cicero and his fellow-pupil with Panaeius of Rhodes, who finally brought about a *modus vivendi* between philosophy and literature. He did so by fixing a hierarchy of studies to be pursued in a full education, and this hierarchy was what was known all through the Middle Ages as the Seven Liberal Arts, treated as a preparation for philosophy. The Arts themselves were a happy combination of "rhetorical" training with the more specialised preliminary studies in logic, mathematics and music which had always been part of the Platonic curriculum. This compromise gave their proper places to literary and philosophical studies and co-ordinated what would now be called secondary with university education. It was this co-ordinated system of "liberal" studies that made the Roman rhetorical schools the great civilising influence that they became all over Western Europe. From the first century B.C. these schools were the central channel down which the classical tradition flowed to the medieval and modern universities. Their recognition as a necessary preliminary to philosophical training helped to calm the force of the Stoic hostility to literature and learning and emphasised the isolation of the Cynics.

Nevertheless the opposition continued almost unabated, and even Stoics like Seneca and Marcus Aurelius, while prepared to admit the claims of literary training, are always inclined to suspect them and to deprecate any excess on their side. The Cynics continued as before to blast with their savage wit all education except their own ascetic training as unnecessary and harmful. As we have seen, the Christian Apologists of the second and early third century were many of them converts from Cynicism, who had spent years in going about the world with short cloak, wallet, and stick, preaching the heroic way to virtue. Christianity, while it caused them uncompromisingly to repudiate their paganism and made

them the determined opponents of the Cynics along with all other pagan philosophers, whose few virtues they often alleged to have been stolen unacknowledged from the Hebrew prophets, only reinforced their already strong prejudices against literature and art. These prejudices appear most violently in Tatian, a Hellenised Semite, and in Tertullian, an African, probably a lawyer who had received the full Roman education of the day. It is very remarkable to see how Tatian, even when proclaiming the superiority of the Scriptures over pagan literature, uses a terminology derived from Diogenes the Cynic, and how Tertullian in the fiercest of his transports can never get away from the Cynic models that betray themselves in the brilliant effervescence of his extraordinary style. Tatian and Tertullian both ended their careers as heretics, and their contemporaries like St. Justin and St. Cyprian were more concerned with defence than attack. Yet their tradition, which was as much pagan as Christian, of hostility to culture did not die out for two centuries, appearing again in St. John Chrysostom as a counterpart to the reasonable classicism of St. Basil. It was in Alexandria, and especially with St. Clement in the third century, that Christianity finally adapted the classical training to its own use, just as there also it began to apply Aristotelian learning, often at first rashly, to scriptural exegesis, and Platonic philosophy to the interpretation of its theology. The ultimate result can be summed up in the recent verdict of a Belgian historian, that a victory for Julian the Apostate over Christianity in the fourth century would have spelt ruin not so much for the hated religion as for the classical tradition with all its immense possibilities for the future.

MICHAEL TIERNEY

IMPRESSIONS OF IRAN TO-DAY

BY VIOLET CONOLLY

THE newcomer to Iran of to-day must be prepared for disappointment, if he is seeking the Persia of legendary fame: Persia of the beautiful carpets and ceramics, of exotically betrousered ladies and dignifiedly berobed males, of grandly built caranvanserails and dainty Persian palaces—the colourful land of the Shah Abbas. Little of this Persia remains to delight the eye of the traveller. The recent official intimation that Persia will henceforth be known as Iran is significant of many far-reaching changes in the country. Since the accession of the present Shah in 1925 there has been a determined effort to transform radically the spirit and traditional activities of the people. In one short decade the power of the great landowning tribes has been broken. Many of the chiefs have been thrown into subterranean prisons in Teheran, from which few emerge alive. The influence of the Mullahs has been steadily undermined, and furtive attempts have been made by the Government to impinge upon the vast property and wealth of the clergy. Persian men have adopted European garments and the Pahlevi cap is obligatory. The women are encouraged to cast aside the veil and are doing so in increasing numbers. The spineless Persian of the old days has become an aggressive Nationalist, no longer kow-towing to foreigners in his own country. He is in fact so much on the defensive that no criticism, however fair, either in the press or conversation, is permitted. As a direct result of the Shah's personal interest in industrialisation, power-driven machinery has been introduced into Iran, and is operating in a number of modernly equipped factories. It is characteristic of the prevailing spirit that the famous old gates of Teheran—in defiance of all sentimental and aesthetic considerations—were recently demolished to facilitate motor-lorry traffic. Peace and security now reign

on the highways of Iran from the Caspian shore to the Gulf, where formerly bandits were a constant menace. Politically and economically Iran is on the *qui vive*—or at all events her rulers are. And in a country of millions of passive illiterate peasants, little else counts, because in spite of all innovations the old autocratic rule remains unchanged.

I

I went to Iran last year on a voyage of discovery, taking the route from Bagdad to Teheran, over Kermanshaw and Hamadan, then south to Kum, Isfahan, Persepolis and Shiraz, to about sixty miles of the Persian Gulf—from which I fled in the tropic heat of August. Returning to Teheran I went north across the mountains to Masanderan, where the Trans-Persian Railway is now painfully making its way, and on through the luxuriant jungle to Meshed-i-Sar, the centre of the caviar industry on the lowlying Caspian shore. I followed the Caspian road as far as Resht, a pleasant old town with a strong Russian influence in its architecture and customs. From Resht I travelled south again as far as Kaswin, where the road forks to Teheran and Tabriz. Taking the westward trail, I reached Tabriz in two days, and from thence to Julfa on the Perso-Russian frontier the journey was easy. A slow train to Tiflis gave me an excellent opportunity of seeing Armenia and the Mount of Ararat where Noah's Ark is said to have rested. From Tiflis I made for Batum and there caught a Lloyd Triestino steamer to Athens. White linen sheets now seemed like the poet's beds of asphodel after my plank couch in the Persian rains and the straw-stuffed pillows of the Soviet trains. So much for my itinerary.

For the benefit of those who dream of romance in the desert I should perhaps brutally communicate that I crossed the Syrian desert in the "largest bus in the world," piloted by a most unromantic looking ex-Black-and-Tan from Limerick. I do not know what beguiling tales an Arab Sheik might have to tell the female under his escort, but this gentleman whiled away the hours of the night by telling me "how the Sinn Feiners had cut the 'earts out of his pals" when he

' was serving the country." Nevertheless, he was an excellent driver and could pick up the trail in the dark where I, sitting beside him, could distinguish absolutely nothing. From Bagdad to Khanquin on the Persian frontier is a night's journey in the train. For me it was a nightmare. The carriage was suffocatingly hot. The bedding literally alive with strange black terrors of the night. British couriers and their fellows have left their mark on the facilities provided for travellers at the little 'Iraqi frontier station of Khanaquin. There are rooms for washing which are clean and even run to a cake of Palm-Olive soap (a heavy item on the bill, of course, if used). A good imitation of an English breakfast, consisting of bacon and eggs, butter, bread and marmalade, tea or coffee is also available. The service was obsequiously good. In fact I was munching bread and butter for five minutes before I realised that the blessed shade in the room was due to the fact that an 'Iraqi boy was patiently holding a napkin over the window to keep out the glare. During breakfast a most unprepossessing Persian, with a lean livid countenance and the most insolent pair of eyes I have ever seen, rushed in and announced himself as the driver of the car in which I was to travel to Teheran. We were soon on our way to the Persian customs station some ten miles further. Here everything went very smoothly, and a Persian official even unwittingly facilitated the entry of a bottle of Cointreau which I was carrying for a friend to Teheran. "Vermouth or whiskey?" he asked. Believing that the former was less heavily taxed, I replied "Vermouth." "Bali, Bali" (Yes, Yes) beamed the obliging man, "Cordial, refreshment for the journey, of course." And let it pass. A swarm of ragged individuals had helped to load and unload the car, and I trembled at the thought of the ultimate moment of reckoning with them. To my amazement they all melted away as if by magic when the job was done. A very modest sum was asked by the Customs' official for this service, and that was the end of it. On the threshold of Iran this was a gratifying example of the disciplinary powers of the Shah.

The journey from the frontier takes two or three days

on an average, according to the pace one likes to make and the idiosyncrasies of one's chauffeur. The road is good except the last stretch of about twenty miles before reaching Teheran. The first thing of interest encountered *en route* is the new pipe-line of the Anglo-Persian Oil Co. connecting the hitherto untapped oil resources on the Perso-Iraqi frontier with the refinery now being constructed in Khanaquin. Before reaching the plateau the road winds through magnificent mountain scenery. Then, for the first time the traveller sees the incomparable sweep and luminous grandeur of the Persian valleys. There is nothing in Europe which can create a similar sense of freedom and light in the mind; and nothing is more characteristic of the Persian landscape than this spaciousness. I spent my first night in Persia at the "Hotel de France" at Hamadan, or Ecbatana as it was known in the days when Alexandra the Great traversed it on his way to Samarkand. The "Hotel de France" is a pleasant hostelry, built in a large garden with a balcony running round the bedroom floor. The ease with which the rooms could be entered from the balcony and the eerie shadows thrown by the massive furniture in the candle-light were a little disquieting on this first night in Persia—for, of course, one could not think of closing either the windows or the door in such a climate. Everybody in the hotel was charming, and a copious meal was produced without a murmur when we arrived at midnight. The rice and chicken were excellent, but the wine was poisonous. Fortunately the hotelkeeper seemed to have some doubts of it himself, because I was invited to taste it before ordering.

The pleasant impression of good manners and good will left by this first experience of a Persian hotel was repeated all over Persia—primitive though many of the establishments are. But I do not feel so kindly towards Persian chauffeurs. They are a class apart. As, for the most part, they drive well, the unwary traveller is apt to imagine that they can attend to the rest of the job. He will soon be disillusioned. These criminal optimists will blithely set out on a long journey across the desert without even looking at their batteries, spares or petrol tank. They are the hardest opium-

smokers in Persia, and if not closely watched may fall asleep at the wheel during dangerous night journeys. I was soon to discover the delinquencies of mine. On the second day we had a puncture. The solitary spare in the car was so patched already that it didn't last out for more than a kilometre. The wretch had brought no tools—for a journey of eight hundred kilometres. Quite unabashed he assured me that all would be well and started flapping his arms at every passing vehicle, until (as he anticipated) a friendly colleague actually came our way and provided him with all he wanted, including the loan of a new spare. His victims had meanwhile been standing in the pitiless noonday sun for two hours. And so we reached Teheran.

The stony yellow-brown desert runs right up to the gates of the capital. To the north the horizon is filled with the grand slopes of the Elburtz Mountains, and dominating the town from every angle is the great white dome of Demivand, the chief peak of the range. In the shade of the foot-hills, some ten miles out of Teheran, lies the Legation quarter of Gulahek. Here are those gardens of which Gertrude Bell wrote so delightfully. And in the torrid heat of the Persian summer, water (brought at great expense from the mountains) plays on lawns as green as in England, and swimming pools abound for the refreshment of the diplomats and their grateful friends. Teheran has a population of at least 250,000. It is growing very fast, but there is neither drainage nor water supply. In spite of the frantic efforts of the Shah to create a capital city out of the small-town heart of Teheran, it remains essentially a shoddy place: a conglomeration of yellow brick shop-fronts, mud-walls (often concealing charming old Persian houses which are rapidly disappearing), shady lanes and newly paved shadeless streets. Teheran has never been one of the historic capitals of Persia, like Isfahan, Hamadan or Shiraz, and consequently it lacks even a core of ruined greatness to give it character or distinction. It is a curious mixture of town and village, the old and the new. There are several fine modern buildings like the new Post Office, the Imperial Bank of Persia (where two Connollys from Dublin

are on the staff), the Anglo-Persian Oil Co., some charming clubs where Persians and foreigners entertain in their respective traditions with equal success—à la persane, à l'anglaise, à la suédoise . . . . There are cinemas with films always in a foreign language, buses and taxis in the big Square which will bring you to Afghanistan or the Persian Gulf or wherever you wish to go, as Persia has so far no international rail communications. You can buy French novels or have your hair waved, but you must not go looking for a frock or a hat in the emporia of Teheran. Persian women in their enveloping black *chadurs* and little horse-hair masks (which do not in the least cramp their feminine technique), the brown-robed mullahs with their turbans and henna-dyed beards, the water-carriers and the "jub" of flowing water by the side of every street add a typical Persian note to the scene. For those who can afford it, there is an itinerant water tank which brings water to the house-door, much as lamp-oil is supplied in Ireland. This is a luxury, however, and the great majority of the people help themselves from the "jub." Water from a tap is rarely found outside the Legation compounds. The "jub" is at once the universal boon and curse of the town, for everything from clothes and food and children is washed in its flowing stream. With Mahomet, the pious Persian believes that no harm can come from running water, though the statistics of infant mortality ought to teach him otherwise.

II

Industrialisation is a subject of absorbing interest to Iran and her rulers at the present time. It is the Shah's hobby-horse and he is riding it hard. He is determined to import as much machinery, mechanical means of transport and plant of all kinds as the country can be made to pay for. Apart from the admirably organised Anglo-Persian Oil Co.—the most productive and extensive business in Persia—all modern industry in Persia may be said to date from the accession of the present Shah in 1925.

The first, the most costly and far the largest project inaugurated by the Shah was the Trans-Persian Railway.

Hitherto, with the exception of the old Russian line connecting Tabriz with Julfa on the Russo-Persian frontier, Persia had no railways. It was suddenly proposed to engage on the gigantic task of building a railway from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf—a distance of 1,500 kms. Thus at one stroke Persia became the scene of the largest engineering enterprise actually under way in the world. Work was started in 1928 under American contractors. A special tax was levied on tea and sugar to pay for the railway, as the Shah decided that he would resort to no foreign loan for this purpose. The idea of the railway is more spectacular than sound, either from the economic or the strategic point of view. Strategy was certainly a compelling factor in the original choice of the north-south route, as the rulers of Iran were anxious to be able to rush men and material to the northern provinces, if Russia should prove aggressive up there. In view of the power of the air-arm to-day, this expensive strategy based on a railway seems somewhat obsolete. Critics of the railway also point out that the country is being pauperised to pay for a railway which can never be remunerative, because Persian trade moves rather towards the north-north-west, and important centres of commerce like Isfahan, Shiraz, Hamadan or Kermanshaw will still be unserved. The economic argument brought forward by the Government is that, as a result of this railway, the products of the Caspian provinces, the most fertile in Persia—cotton, rice, fruit, tobacco, etc.—will be brought to world markets and the age-old economic strangle-hold of Russia on this region must accordingly relax. Great hopes are also entertained that the whole country traversed by the railway will rapidly develop, though an outsider may be pardoned for wondering how the desert plateau can be economically developed under any circumstances. No frank discussion of the railway is tolerated in Iran itself. " It is a plan of His Majesty " repeat his obedient servants, and the subject remains taboo. More than 30,000 men are working on the job, including 1,000 Italians.

Before Persia regained her tariff autonomy in 1928, tariffs on foreign manufactured goods were comparatively low, and

an increasing variety of manufactured goods, to the detriment of the traditional handicraft industries and a healthy balance of trade, were being imported. Apart from oil products (which the Persian foreign trade statistics refuse to recognise as exports from Persia owing to their origin in the A.P.O.C. concession) Persia exports chiefly cotton, carpets, opium and gums—all of which were adversely affected by the world crisis. With a view to improving the situation and also to encouraging new industries, the Persian Government introduced a Foreign Trade Monopoly in 1931, which is one of the most complicated forms of economic control which has ever been devised. The merchant class of Persia has been ruined by this measure, and the great old trading centres of Tabriz, Isfahan, Shiraz have been shorn of most of their former prosperity. The only town to benefit is Teheran, where the negotiation of import and export certificates is concentrated. Teheran is also the happy hunting-ground of foreign firms interested in the government contracts for industry. Last summer for example, British, German and Swiss agents were there trying to sell textile machinery for the new cotton mills; Swiss and Italians outbidding each other for the new silk filiature in Deh Now; Swedes and French intriguing day and night for the contract to build lighthouses in the Persian Gulf . . . . The town was full of amusing stories about the vicissitudes of these rivals at the hands of the Persians, who of course are delighted to find themselves the centre of so much international attention.

The largest textile factory in the country is at Chahi in Masanderan and belongs to the Shah. About 1,000 workers are employed. If local rumour is correct, their labour can scarcely be regarded as free; for the Shah has very elastic views about the scope of the royal prerogative in these matters. Large quantities of suiting and tenting for the army are made in this factory as well as plain cotton cloth. There are also smaller cotton mills in Isfahan and Shiraz, equipped with the latest British and German machinery. Cotton yarn is now on the list of prohibited imports to Iran, so the industry is thriving. Jute grows well by the Caspian Sea; but there was

little commercial use for it in Persia until a factory was recently erected in Resht, where ropes and gunny bags are now made. As jute is conspicuously absent from the list of fibres cultivated in the U.S.S.R., the Persian product may eventually find a profitable market in Russia.

Sugar has always been one of the chief imports of Persia. The efforts so far made either to grow good beet or to produce sugar at a reasonably economic price have been ludicrously unsuccessful. Incredible stories are told in Persia about the beginnings of these sugar factories, which have been arbitrarily allocated to various parts of the country without any proper study of local conditions. In one case the factory was nearly completed before it was realised that there was no convenient water supply, and for months water had to be brought to the factory on the backs of donkeys. In another case, it was only ascertained that a virulent worm in the ground would destroy any beet crop, when the beet was already showing its head above the ground. It was too late to remove the factory however, and owing to the expense involved the Persians have not yet made up their minds to spray the ground with copper sulphate. The new tea plantations have been a much more successful venture. Many of the hills on the Caspian hinterland are well adapted for tea-growing. Persia can now supply between 10 to 15 per cent. of her requirements of tea. There are tea drying and packing institutes under Chinese experts at Lalijan and Lakan near Resht, which are admirably run. Other industries promoted by the Government are silk, cigarettes, tinned and dried fruit and matches. Though it is the fashion in Teheran to long for (heavily taxed) English cigarettes, Persian cigarettes have a peculiar fragrance of their own and are very cheap.

Among the many foreign groups participating in the industrialisation of Iran the Swedes have a special place and prestige. They founded the mixed *Persiska Kompaniet* a few years ago which imports manufactured goods to Iran in exchange for Persian carpets, dried fruit and other commodities. They are teaching the Persian to grade and pack his wonderful fruits so as to compete better in the fruit markets

of the world. They are building steel bridges in Masandaran, and several Swedish engineers are engaged on the railways.

With the exception of the cotton industry, where private capital predominates, most of the industrial schemes now operating in Iran are controlled by the Ministry of Industry and Commerce. It is unfortunate that so few members of the Government have any practical experience of industry and that those in high place are still so prone to take the path of personal aggrandisment—in spite of the drastic punishment imposed by the Shah if the culprit is discovered. It would be an exaggeration to state that Persia has yet felt the blessings of industrialisation. Only a small number of the poverty-stricken peasants have been absorbed by the new factories, while all have to pay greatly increased prices for the most common articles of consumption. The people are being saddled with an increasingly heavy burden of taxation to pay for the most up-to-date machinery, which often appears an incongruous extravagance in view of the prevailing social and economic conditions. Headed by the Shah, industrialisation seems to be regarded by the ruling clique in Teheran as the passport to equality with the great nations of the world. Conscious of the undeniable progress made by their country in a few years, many young Persians (with a smattering of foreign education) return to work in Persia with a ridiculous assumption of superiority.

III

Persia is very inadequately provided with educational facilities. There is no specifix tax for educational purposes. Grants for school budgets are allotted directly by the Treasury, and the people have little interest in what is being done or not being done. Far less public money has been expended in post-war years on education by Persia than by either of her neighbours, Turkey or the U.S.S.R. In all, there are about 700 schools, elementary and secondary, for a population of 14,000,000. Things are slowly improving in the educational world, but there is still a crying need for properly trained teachers. It must be remembered that State schools are a

ery recent innovation in Persia. All education was formerly n the hands of the Mullahs (who taught the Koran and gave smattering of general knowledge by the traditional oral nethod) and of the British and American missionaries. According to a long-standing arrangement between these nissionary societies, the British confined themselves to south Persia, the Americans to the north. The British C.M.S. has large well-equipped college in Isfahan, where several hundred boys and girls are given a good general education in English. The American equivalent is the American college in Teheran, fine modern building with good playing fields, a swimming pool and a first-class library. The standard of work in this college is said to be high. I knew many of these American nissionaries personally in Teheran, Resht and Tabriz. They are an excellent body of men and women. I can think of nothing nearer to the spirit of the early Christians than the way in which these missionaries in remote parts of Persia will open their homes and hearts to a complete stranger and speed him on his way.

Persia now has a training college, the National Teachers' College in Teheran, founded on the model of Teachers' College, New York. It is directed by a Persian with something very like genius for his work, Issa Khan Sadiq, an idealist and a very popular figure in Teheran. Persia is fortunate in having discovered this man at the present juncture in her social history. He has studied education deeply in his country's interest and has come to the somewhat unexpected conclusion that American methods are more fruitful in Persia than the French tradition (which formerly predominated) or any other. During his short period as Director of Education he succeeded in obtaining a grant to build a Teachers' College, now the apple of his eye. This training college provides courses in Arts, Science and Education for 130 students. If students decide to teach in the State schools, the Government offers free tuition at this college. Sadiq himself showed me the class-rooms, laboratories and library (modern airy structures in a lovely garden)—talking all the time of many things in Persia and abroad. Being no comparative philo-

logist, I was glad to hear from him that the late Professor Browne of Cambridge (with whom he had collaborated in the latter's *History of Persian Literature*) had often commented on the similarity of certain Persian and Irish customs and expressions, as many of these resemblances had struck me since I began to understand Persian. Most of the scientific text-books used by his students, Sadiq said, were in French or German, while the Professors lectured in Persian. In his *Modern Persia and her Educational System* Sadiq describes with a frankness rare among his countrymen the defects of the present situation and his dreams for the future.

Since 1928 about 1,000 Persian students of law, medicine and engineering have been sent abroad with funds provided by the Anglo-Persian Oil Co. It has now been decided to build a University in Teheran and keep the students at home.

Schools for girls are still few and far between in Persia. The missionary colleges have always offered them courses, and there are French convents in Teheran and Isfahan. The Government recently opened some girls' schools in Isfahan and Teheran, but this is by no means general. I met a very energetic woman in Shiraz who some years ago decided to open a school for the girls of her native town. The venture has been a great success and is still the only girls' school in Shiraz, one of the chief towns of Persia.

IV

Since the Treaty of Torkmanchai in 1828, when Persia lost her fiscal independence as the result of a misguided war against Russia, she has ceased to count as an active force in international affairs. A succession of flabby and corrupt rulers opened the way for the virtual partition of the country between Great Britain and Russia. The great race of Cyrus and Darius seemed to have lost all virility and prestige. Persia was regarded as a paradise by foreigners, who smiled at the medieval customs of the country and rode rough-shod over its inhabitants. This situation has been radically changed in a short time by the present Shah. There has also been a complete reversal of policy in regard to Persia on the part of

Great Britain and Russia, the two foreign powers most interested in her. Russia initiated this policy by the Treaty of Friendship signed in 1921, by which she restored to Persia all the Russian concessions in Persia and cancelled Persia's outstanding debts to Russia. Nevertheless there has been serious economic trouble between the U.S.S.R. and Persia since 1927. Great Britain has shown her determination to refrain from active intervention in Persia by the conciliatory attitude adopted in connection with the various Anglo-Persian Oil Co. disputes and several incidents in the Persian Gulf—which in other years would surely have brought a few British gun-boats flying to the scene. Unfortunately national egotism now runs so high in Persia that what is really a self-denying ordinance on the part of Great Britain is attributed to the strength and cleverness of the Persians. Officially Iran to-day is suspicious of all foreigners, though individually they are still very courteously received in the country. There is a widespread conviction that some half-a-dozen countries are conspiring against her independence. And so enormous sums for a poor country are annually expended on the army and war material. In 1934 alone £2,000,000 sterling was voted for munitions. The army is the spoiled child of the Shah, who sprang originally from its ranks. Nobody knows exactly how much it costs the country per annum ; but it is certainly far more than appears in the budget. His Majesty has also given Persia the nucleus of an air-force and a navy ; to man the latter the first group of Persians were sent to Italy for training last year.

Iran has lifted her head again among the nations of the world. Though the pace which has been made under the dynamic influence of Riza Shah Pahlevi will scarcely be maintained when he disappears from the scene, it is most unlikely that the work of modernisation initiated by him will crumble away. There is no setting the clock back. However much those who knew the old picturesque Persia regret its passing away, it is the Iran of to-day, with its steam-rolled roads, its motor-lorries, its factories and all the traditions now in the making, that has come to stay. VIOLET CONOLLY

THE O CLERYS OF TIRCONNELL

BY REV. PAUL WALSH, M.A.

THE story of the coming of the O Clerys to Tirconnell is well known from the account which a seventeenth-century member of the family has left on record. It has been re-told many times since John O Donovan first published it in 1844. We shall not enter far into its particulars nor surround its episodes with any fanciful padding of things which may have been.

It is a historical fact that dynasts of the name Ua Cleirigh ruled the district of Ui Fiachrach Aidhne, roughly, the territory of Kilmacduagh, about Gort, in the south-west of county Galway. Cleireach, from whom the surname came, must have lived before the year 850. Ua Cleirigh, the surname, is first found at the record of the death in 916 of one of Cleireach's descendants. From that year until 1033 the name Ua Cleirigh is in continuous association with the same territory. The particulars are vouched for by the annalists.

About 150 years later William fitz Adelm de Burgo, ancestor of all the Burkes of Ireland, is said to have dispossessed the O Clerys. They migrated to Tirawley, a region in the north-east of county Mayo, west of the Moy and Ballina. On their settlement there a complete silence falls until the second quarter of the fourteenth century.

At that period a certain Cormac O Clery, ancestor of the O Clerys of Tirconnell, settled in that country, having come from Tirawley. He was associated for a time with the monks of the Cistercian abbey of Assaroe. When he came to Tirconnell, Niall Garbh O Donnell, king of the name, was ruling. Niall Garbh was king between the years 1342 and 1348. Hence, if the record is right, Cormac was settled at Kilbarron in county Donegal, the hereditary seat of the chief of the O Clerys, before 1348. He is said to have been proficient in the Civil and Canon Law, but the statement means hardly anything.

Cormac became married to a daughter of O Sgingin, Ollav of O Donnell. The ollavs were masters of various kinds of learning, but particularly of Chronicling and Poetry. The family of O Sgingin followed Chronicling as a profession. The story goes that O Sgingin had no child save one daughter, for his one son had died, and the date of his death is given, 1382. O Sgingin wished to transmit his profession to his descendants. He therefore arranged the marriage of his daughter to Cormac, with the proviso that their male children should be brought up as Chroniclers.

The date 1382 creates a difficulty. For Cormac was not likely to have remained unmarried for nearly forty years while in possession of lands granted to him by Niall Garbh, king of Tirconnell. This the story, as it stands, implies. There are three ways of solution :—

1⁰ The date may be incorrect. It may—for instance—be a mistake for 1342. The similar date in the Four Masters matters nothing.

2⁰ The son of O Sgingin may have been a permanent invalid or a simpleton, and the old man may have had no option but the taking of a scholar for the husband of his daughter. In that case the marriage may have taken place many years before 1382.

3⁰ The story may be a fiction. The origins provided for Irish learned families are often fictitious.

At any rate we may stand by the statement that Cormac came to Tirconnell in the reign of Niall Garbh, because there could have been no reason in selecting his reign for Cormac's coming if that part of the story were an invention. Further, the reign of Niall Garbh (1342-1348) as the period of Cormac's arrival in Tirconnell leaves room for the later steps of the O Clery genealogy. O Donovan's solution on different lines does not. Of the latter we shall say something in a moment.

Of Cormac there is nothing known beyond what has been said. His death is not mentioned anywhere.

Giolla Brighde was Cormac's son. Of him there is not a notice in the Annals or elsewhere.

GIOLLA RIABHACH, "a learned historian," died in 1421, according to the Annals of the Four Masters. He was son of Giolla Brighde. The entry of the Four Masters O Donovan brushed aside in his earlier work, substituting Giolla Brighde for Giolla Riabhach, because clearly a man unmarried before 1382 could not have had in 1421 a grandson "a learned historian" in the Annalists' sense. In the Annals edition O Donovan did not suggest the change.

DIARMAID NA DTRI SGOL, "Diarmaid of the Three Schools," was son of the foregoing. We can fix this man's date well enough, though he is not mentioned in the Annals. He wrote two poems extant concerning Niall Garbh II (grandson of Niall Garbh I), who was king of Tirconnell from 1422 to 1439 The first was composed after Niall Garbh was taken prisoner in 1434 (FM) and before he died in the Isle of Man (1439) It has been printed in Irish Texts ii, 87-91, from a vellum manuscript in Oxford. It is in substance an invocation of Columcille to come to the relief of the poet's patron. There is a good copy in National Library MS. 167, headed more fully than the vellum copy: "Diarmaid of the Three Schools O Cleirigh composed this poem for the same O Domhnaill, namely, Niall Garbh, son of Toirrdhealbhach of the Wine" (page 80).

The second poem is on the death of Niall Garbh in 1439. It also is printed in Irish Texts ii, 91-96. The heading in the National Library copy is: "The aforesaid Diarmaid composed this for the same Niall Garbh" (page 83 of the manuscript). It is also found in the Yellow Book of Lecan, column 197 (Gwynn, Catalogue of Irish MSS. 97).

O Donovan explains the expression *scol fri leigheann* as a school for general literature. The extent of the "literature" studied we shall never know, but it probably included the Latin language, Irish, and possibly English. The second and third schools were of Chronicling and Poetry.

To Diarmaid of the Three Schools Niall Garbh granted lands in addition to those Cormac O Cleirigh had received from Niall's grandfather. This Diarmaid must have been a man of great attainments.

Tadhg Cam was son of Diarmaid of the Three Schools. He died in 1492. That is all we know about him except that he was "ollav to O Donnell in literature, poetry, and history, a man who had kept a house of general hospitality for the mighty and for the needy." Here our study divides into three sections, for Tadhg Cam had three sons—Tuathal, Giolla Riabhach, and Diarmaid. The text which forms the basis of this study[1] styles them "famous," and such they must have been; for they are all commemorated in the Annals, they built houses on the Kilbarron estate, and they surely wrote much of which we know nothing now.

I. Sliocht Tuathail

Tuathal O Cleirigh, son of Tadhg Cam. The date of his death was 1512, and again we know nothing about him except what is contained in the annal entry, which is in similar terms to that which commemorates his father at date 1492. The descendants of Tuathal are styled Sliocht Tuathail.

It should be noted that in the Annals of Loch Ce 1512 the entry to the effect that O Cleirigh, that is *Tadhg m* Tuathail m Taidhg Chaim, was slain is erroneous. The words and letters in italics should be deleted.

There are four sons of Tuathal named. Of two of these only is anything at present known.

Tadhg Cam son of Tuathal died in 1565. He was learned in Chronicling and in Poetry, and he kept a house of hospitality. He was buried with great respect in the house of the Franciscans in Donegal. This Tadhg Cam had an only daughter, Síle.

Giolla Riabhach, son of Tuathal, was the scribe of the celebrated manuscript styled Harley 5280 in the British Museum. A note on folio 74b beseeches "a prayer for Giolla Riabhach, son of Tuathal, son of Tadhg Cam O Cleirigh; and let every one who shall make use of it bestow the prayer on the scribe." He twice mentions his place of writing as

[1] Printed in O'Donovan, *Tribes and Customs of Hy Fiachrach* (Irish Archaeological Society, 1844, pages 70-90).

Corrlios Conuill. In Fiant of Elizabeth 4800, dated Dec. 9, 1585, we find record of a Pardon granted to "Gales O Mulchonry of Corlesconyll." We may readily amend the name here to Eolus O Maolchonaire. There is evidence in the manuscript that it was probably in O Maolchonaire hands at the time of writing. Further, from Fiant 4800 it is certain that "Corlesconyll" was in county Leitrim. We may then conclude that Giolla Riabhach was a student at the time he wrote the manuscript at an O Maolchonaire school in county Leitrim.

Indeed in another note on folio 71 he calls himself "the student from the Cill whose other half-name is the seventh free-day of the week." So he was a student at the time of writing. As for the cryptic designation of his place of origin, it may not contain so much mystery as has been supposed. There can be no doubt that the "free day" of the week is Sunday, and *cill* with *domhnach* combined in the commonest way makes Cill Domhnaigh, or Kildoney, which was a place of the O Clerys, and is mentioned in the text above referred to. Domhnach is not the seventh day of the week; but if it is not, it has replaced Saturday (the Sabbath), which is.

At some time after the year 1532 Giolla Riabhach copied the Life of Columcille by Manus O Donnell. This manuscript of Giolla Riabhach is unfortunately lost, but a transcript of it is now in the Franciscan Library, Merchants' Quay. Brian Mac Nelis, who made the latter, says:—

> Wherefore, judicious reader, spare me and reproach me not for any fault I may have committed herein in respect of letter or omission; and concerning orthography and composition, let the praise or dispraise of it be on Giolla Riabhach Mor O Cleirigh, whom I followed, not merely *de verbo ad verbum*, but letter for letter (See STUDIES, June 1929, page 301).

In the Copenhagen manuscript described by Stern in *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* (ii, 323 ff.) there are three poems by O Cleirigh, named Giolla Riabhach, to Cuchonnacht Maguidhir, chief of Fermanagh. This is doubtless our Giolla Riabhach, and the Cuchonnacht Maguidhir would be he who

s styled the Coarb and who died in 1537. All three pieces re in Casbhairne metre and commence thus :—

(*a*) Díon Fódla a bfeis rídhamhna
(*b*) Craobh eóluis teisd tighearna
(*c*) Buaidh neagna ar fhréimh ríoghUidhir.[1]

There is no record of the death of Giolla Riabhach, son of Tuathal. Sons and grandsons of his are recorded by name. One of the latter, Cumumhan son of Tuathal, is mentioned as a scribe of the Law of Adamnan (ed. Kuno Meyer, page 32).

It has been said above that there were two sons of Tuathal O Cleirigh of whom we know nothing but the names—Mathghamhain and Uilliam. Of the descendants of both we have something to say.

Maolmhuire, grandson to the former, was poet to the great Tyrone chieftain Turlogh Lynagh O Neill (d. 1595). This Maolmhuire was killed in 1583. At that year (1583) the Four Masters give an account of a battle at Druim Lighean between O Neill and O Donnell, in which O Donnell severely defeated his enemy. The account says :—

On this occasion numbers of O Neill's people were drowned and slain, among whom were O Gormley (Cormac), and Mac Hugh, and Maolmhuire, son of Diarmaid, son of Mathghamhain, son of Tuathal O Cleirigh, the only hostage of O Neill and Kinel-Owen, for his father and O Neill himself were born of the same mother ; and he had O Neill's various treasures under his control, on account of his relationship to him ; and O Neill would have given three times the ordinary quantity of every sort of property for his ransom, if he could have been ransomed ; but he was first mortally wounded, and afterwards drowned by O Donnell's people, who were in high spirits and rejoiced at his falling by them.

The text of O Donovan observes in regard to Maolmhuire that he was the poet who was with O Neill (namely, Toirrdhealbhach Luineach) most probably because it was unprecedented for a member of the O Cleirigh family to serve O Neill. O Donovan in a note on this passage, makes a slip when he states that the poet himself and the chieftain were born of one mother. The truth is that Diarmaid O Cleirigh (the poet's father) and Turlogh Lynagh were born of the same

[1] There is a copy of the first piece in H iv 20, page 67, in the hand of Tadhg O Neachtain.

mother. The great scholar considered it singular that such a relationship should exist. But he need not have so thought. Of the numerous sons of Turlogh of the Wine O Donnell (1380-1422) two are recorded as sons of the daughter of Mac Mailin. (This name is of quite minor significance in the Annals). O Donnell's association with this lady was not regarded as a concubinage—perhaps it was such according to modern ideas and in fact, but it was not looked upon in that way in the chieftain's time. The association of Niall Conallach, Turlogh's father, with the grandmother of the poet Maolmhuire was of an exactly parallel nature. We may, however, add that the record of Turlogh of the Wine in this direction is, as far as we know, unique. No less than ten wives of his are named in the Genealogies of the O Donnells.

Of the descendants of Uilliam O Cleirigh—referred to above immediately before this account of Maolmhuire—we know more than of any other group of the O Clerys. The reason is that the group includes Conaire O Cleirigh, his brother Maolmhuire (better known as Father Bernardin) and most illustrious of all, Tadhg an tSleibhe ("Tadhg of the Mountain"), who bore the venerable name of Brother Michael.

The notoriety of these men arises from their connexion with the work now universally known as the Annals of the Four Masters. Brother Michael's fame towers as to the stars in comparison with that of the other two. He projected and completed—with able assistants—other works, and he left a legacy of Irish manuscripts from his pen which shall ever stand memorials of his own learning, the honour of God, and the glory of the Irish nation.

Conaire, Maolmhuire (Father Bernardin), and Tadhg an tSleibhe (Brother Michael) were grandsons, through his son Donnchadh, to Uilliam, who was son of Tuathal (1512), who was son of Tadhg Cam (1492), who was son of Diarmaid of the Three Schools, the first O Cleirigh from whom a line is preserved. For a poem by Donnchadh O Cleirigh, later in point of date than 1570, see *Leabhar Chlainne Suibhne*, p. lx.

The title "Annals of the Four Masters" was first employed

y Father John Colgan, O.S.F., in the Preface to his Acta anctorum Hiberniae, Louvain 1645. The explanation of he term *Four* Masters (though a number of scholars greater han four participated in the compilation) he gives in plain erms. Only four persons co-operated while the whole work vas in progress. An additional two had no share in it at east down to the year 1267.[1] The three chroniclers who were Brother Michael's collaborators during all the time of compilation were Fearfeasa O Maolchonaire, Cuchoigcriche O Duibhgheannain, and Cuchoigcriche O Cleirigh.

Conaire O Cleirigh was one of the Four Masters' assistants. His activities extended over several months—*pluribus mensibus*. We are told expressly that with Brother Michael and Cuchoigcriche O Cleirigh he "wrote" that portion of the second Part which lies between the year 1332 and the year 1608.[2] This cannot mean that two of the Masters named by Colgan (Fearfeasa O Maolchonaire and Cuchoigcriche O Duibhgheannain) had no share in the bringing together of that section. The O Clerys mentioned probably reduced to order the materials collected by the efforts of all the workers. It must be this circumstance which prompted O Donovan to name Conaire O Cleirigh as one of the Four. But Conaire is distinctly excluded from the title of Master because, as has been said, he was not an all-time collaborator with the others. O Donovan states that the original manuscript of the Annals now in the Royal Irish Academy (23 P 6-7) is for the greater part in the hand of Conaire O Cleirigh.[3] He also states that the same person was the scribe of the greatest portion of the Trinity College original.[4]

Nothing whatsoever is known of Conaire O Cleirigh except that he was connected with the great Annals undertaking in the way and to the extent described.

Concerning Maolmhuire we learn from a deposition

[1] "Tametsi enim iuxta iam dicta, plures quam quatuor ad eos /Annales/ expediendos concurrerint, quia tamen ipse concursus erat sat dispar, et solum duo ex eis breui tempore, in exigua et posteriori operis parte laborarunt, alij vero quatuor in toto, saltem vsque ad annum 1267, hinc sub eorum /Quatuor Magistrorum/ nomine illud citamus."

[2] "An brathair Michel O Clerigh adubhramor Cucoicceriche O Clerigh and Conaire O Clerigh do scriobh an leabhar deidheanach otha 1332 go 1608."

[3] See his edition of the Annals, page xiv, note.

[4] See ibid. page xviii, note; Gwynn, Catalogue of Irish MSS. 82.

made by him on entering the Irish College of Salamanca on November 10, 1610, that his father's name was Donatus, that is, Donnchadh, that his mother's was Honora Ultach, and that he was then in his twenty-second year. This means that he was born in 1589 or towards the close of 1588. He mentions the names of two teachers under whom he studied *litterae humaniores*. He became a Franciscan in 1616, and was ordained priest in 1619, having taken the name of Bernardin. He was Guardian of the monastery of Donegal when the Annals were completed, and he signed the Preface: "FR. BERNARDINUS CLERY, Guardianus Dungalensis."

TADHG AN TSLEIBHE (Tadhg of the Mountain) was the youngest of the four brothers (nothing whatsoever being known of the eldest, Uilliam); and as Maolmhuire, the third, was born in 1588 or, more probably, 1589, the fourth cannot have been born before the latter year, and he was probably born later. Some relations as student he had with Baothghalach Ruadh Mac Aodhagain, from whom he says in the Introduction to his printed Irish Glossary (Louvain 1643) "he himself received" the explanation of the greatest number of difficult words; but we do not know to what branch of the MacEgans this Baothghalach Ruadh belonged, where he lived, or whether he conducted a school or not. Father Brendan Jennings, O.S.F., has shown that Tadhg an tSleibhe O Cleirigh was a member of the Franciscan Order before March 1623, and that in 1626 he was despatched from Louvain to Ireland to gather materials for the Lives of the Irish Saints, the collection of which had then been recently projected by Fathers Hugh Ward and Patrick Fleming. Thenceforward Brother Michael appears to have remained a member of the monastery of Donegal, which, on account of the persecutions, was located during these years at Bundrowes in the neighbourhood of Bundoran. He left Ireland in or after July 1637, and died at Louvain in the year 1643. "No monument seems ever to have marked his grave, and the most careful search has failed to give any inkling of the spot where his remains await their resurrection. But this humble Brother, who hid himself so completely while accomplishing so much

or Ireland, has fulfilled one of the noblest ambitions man can have. He has written his name large across the history of his country, and has left it engraved indelibly on the hearts of all his countrymen" (Father Jennings, in *Assisi*, October 1933).

II. Sliocht Giollariabhaigh

The second son of Tadhg Cam O Cleirigh (died 1492) was Giolla Riabhach, from whom was named and descended Sliocht Giolla Riabhaigh; he died in 1527. His death is thus recorded by the Four Masters: "O Cleirigh, Gilla Riabhach, son of Tadhg Cam, a scientific adept in history, poetry, and literature, and a man of consideration, wealth, prosperity, and great power, died on the thirtieth of September." There is nothing further known of him except that he had at least three sons, one of whom was Muiris.

Muiris, son of Giolla Riabhach O Cleirigh (that is, O Cleirigh), a man learned in history and literature, and a man of esteem and influence, died in Muintir Eoluis, and was interred in Fenagh of Moy-Rein, in the church of Saint Caillin (Four Masters 1573). There is nothing further known of this Muiris.

The section in the manuscript dealing with the sons and descendants of Giolla Riabhach is left incomplete, with a vacant space indicating the incompleteness. This fact is obscured in O Donovan's transcript in *Tribes and Customs of Hy Fiachrach* (80, penultimate paragraph).

III. Sliocht Diarmada

Diarmaid, son of Tadhg Cam, who gave his name to this sept, was killed in battle in 1522. The Annals of Ulster describe him as "one eminent in history, and a good poet."

Cuchoigcriche, son of Diarmaid, son of Tadhg Cam, is mentioned in the Four Masters at the year 1546. At that date Domhnall, brother of Maghnus O Domhnaill prince of Tir Conaill, was murdered by O Gallchubhair and his wife Onora while under protection of Cuchoigcriche O Cleirigh and Godfrey Mac an Bhaird. O Cleirigh was banished to Thomond

as a consequence of the treacherous deed. He was the author of five poems which occur in the National Library MS. 167 between pages 111 and 128. The first is introduced thus :—

Cuchoigriche O Cleirigh mac Diarmada mic Taidhg Chaim do chum an dan so dUa Dhomhnaill .i. Maghnus iar tteacht don Choinchoigriche chenna go Tuathmhumhain tre mharbhadh Domhnaill mic Ui Dhomhnaill .i. mic Aodha Dhuibh ar a shlantibh & ar a chumairce et ar cumairce Mic an Bhaird Gofraidh mac Eoghain le hUa nGallchobhair .i. Eoghan et le na mhnaoi Onora inghen Tuathail Bhailbh Ui Ghallchobhair i nInis Saimher an 20 la do mhi April 1540.

Cuchoigcriche, son of Diarmaid, son of Tadhg Cam O Cleirigh, composed this poem for O Domhnaill, Maghnus, after Cuchoigcriche had come to Thomond on account of the slaying of Domhnall, son of O Domhnaill, that is, Aodh Dubh, in violation of his pledges and of his protection, and of the protection of Mac an Bhaird (Godfrey, son of Eoghan), by O Gallchubhair, Eoghan, and his wife Onora, daughter of Tuathal Balbh O Gallchubhair, in Inis Saimher, on April 20, 1540 (*lege* 1546).

The five pieces commence respectively :—

(1) Fada a ccairt ó Chloinn Dálaigh.[1]
(2) Truagh gan Maghnus na mhac ríogh.
(3) Dlighidh file fagháil aisig.
(4) Tréan ríogh uaisligheas ollamh.
(5) Deacair iomlaoid chlann cConaill.

There is a sixth poem by Cuchoigcriche O Cleirigh in Copenhagen manuscript No. 20, which according to Stern (*Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* ii, 348) commences "Urra ac oighreacht Eiremhoin " and which is addressed to Cuchonnacht Maguidhir, who succeeded to the chieftainship of Firmanach in 1566. The date of Cuchoigcriche's death is not mentioned in the Annals.

One of the authorities followed by the Four Masters was a section (A.D. 1281-1537) of a Book of Annals named after Cuchoigcriche, son of Diarmaid, son of Tadhg Cam O Cleirigh, as we learn from the preface to their work printed by O Donovan, pages lxiii-lxvii. This book has perished.

Brother to Cuchoigcriche was Cormac, a Friar, who died in 1542. Cormac, son of Diarmaid O Cleirigh, was, say the

[1] The manuscript index has a variant reading *ccert* for *ccairt*. Poems Nos. 2-5 are concerned with the poet's banishment. Portion of No. 5 has been published by Miss Eleanor Knott in *Irish Syllabic Poetry*, 67.

Annals of Loch Ce, the most cultured and learned Friar Minor in his time. Some of Father Jenning's remarks (*Assisi*, May 1932, page 204) regarding this man are quite erroneous.

Brothers of Cuchoigcriche and Cormac were Giolla Brighde and Muirgheas. They are not mentioned in the Annals, nor has any reference to them been discovered elsewhere.

Coming to the next generation the first important personage we meet is MACCON, son of Cuchoigcriche, son of Diarmaid, son of Tadhg Cam. He died in 1595. The Four Masters chronicle his death at that year: "Maccon, son of Cuchoigcriche, son of Diarmaid, son of Tadhg Cam O Cleirigh, ollav to O Domhnaill in History, an erudite and ingenious man, professed in history and poetry; a fluent orator, with the gift of elocution, address, and eloquence; a pious, devout, religious, and charitable man; died at Lettermoylan, in Thomond." Several pieces from his hand have been preserved:—

(*a*) Ni dual gan cuimhne ar cheart ríogh (Academy Catalogue 665, 679, 762; Gwynn, Catalogue 18).

(*b*) Mac Airteáin triath na neach seang (Academy Catalogue 658).

(*c*) Dearbh do chumhachta a chroch naomh (National Library 167, page 160).

(*d*) A bhean na lurgan luime (23 D 4, 134; 23 I 40, 71). Printed in O Rahilly, *Danta Gradha*, p. 129.

(*e*) Cionnus do mholfuinn mac ríogh (Eriu vi, 126).

(*f*) Rug cabhair ar chóir Gaoidheal (National Library 167, page 156).

(*g*) Sealbh Eireann ag aicme Néill (O Grady, Catalogue 386; Gwynn, Catalogue 61).

Brother to Maccon was COSNAMHACH O CLEIRIGH, whose death is recorded by the Four Masters at 1584 as follows: "Cosnamhach, son of Cuchoigcriche, son of Diarmaid, son of Tadhg Cam O Cleirigh, a respectable and affluent man who at one time had kept a house of hospitality in Thomond and at another time in Tirconnell, died at Fuarchosach in Tirconnell in the Lent of this year, and was buried under the asylum of God and Saint Bernard in the monastery of Assaroe."

A third brother was MUIRIS BALLACH, who was executed with two other poets in the year 1572. This act of barbarism created a great stir among the learned classes throughout

Ireland, as we learn from the Annalists; and we have confirmation of what they report (ann. cit.) in the following account prefixed to the poem *Biaidh athroinn ar inis Fail* (55 quatrains) in National Library MS. 167, page 175:—

Uilliam Og Mac an Bhaird do rinne an dan leath so da thigherna Aodh mac Maghnusa [Ui Dhomhnaill] leath dhe na mholadh dO Dhomhnaill & an leath eile na aoir dIarla Tuathmhumhan Conchobhar O Briain tre chrochadh an aesa ealadhna oirdhirc gan choir gan chionta leis an Iarla chenna .i. Eoghan Ruadh mac Fergail Mic an Bhaird et Muiris Ballach mac Conchoigriche mic Diarmada I Chleirigh & mac I Mhoirin dollamhnaibh shiol cCarrthaigh. Ni mor do bhi le dan i Leth Cuinn nach derna ir don Iarla im an ghniomh sin. Aois Chriosd an tan sin 1572.

Uilliam Og Mac an Bhaird made this poem of Halves for his lord, Aodh, son of Maghnus O Domhnaill; one Half of it being a panegyric of O Domhnaill and the other a castigation of the Earl of Thomond, Conchubhar O Briain, for his execution of the celebrated literati Eoghan Ruadh son of Ferghal Mac an Bhaird, and Muiris Ballach, son of Cuchoigeriche, son of Diarmaid O Cleirigh, and the son of O Moirin, a poet of the MacCarthys. There were not many poets in Conn's Half of Ireland who did not compose a satire for the Earl because of that deed. The Age of Christ then was 1572.

Nothing further is known of Muiris Ballach O Cleirigh.

The Life of Aodh Ruadh O Domhnaill mentions a FEARFEASA O Cleirigh in connexion with a supposed prophecy of the Irish victory at the battle of the Yellow Ford in 1598. Possibly this was Fearfeasa, son of Giolla Brighde, son of Diarmaid, referred to in the text of O Donovan (p. 82).

Cousin to this last and to Maccon, Cosnamhach and Muiris Ballach O Cleirigh, was Cuchonnacht, son of Muirgheas, son of Diarmaid, the only person of that name we know of. Perhaps he was Cuchonnacht O Cleirigh author of the poem *Neimhthinn an galar é an grádh* printed in O Rahilly, *Dánta Grádha* [1] 26,[2] 10.

Before passing from this generation of the sept, we may quote Fiant of Elizabeth 6761, of date February 26, 1603, which records pardon of, among others, "Luigh O Clery, Gillebride O Clery, Twohell O Clery, Shane O Clery, Dermot O Clery, Imerkin O Clery." Here Imerkin O Clery is most

robably the Aimirgin, son of Giolla Brighde, son of Diarmaid O Donovan 82). Shane O Clery and Dermot O Clery may be lentified with the brothers Seaan and Diarmaid, sons of osnamhach (1584), son of Cuchoigcriche, son of Diarmaid 1522). Twohell O Clery may be Tuathal, son of Giolla iabhach, son of Tuathal (1512), or he may be Tuathal, son f Eolus, son of Muiris (1573)—the former belonging to Sliocht 'uathail and the latter to Sliocht Giolla Riabhaigh. There an be no doubt that Luigh O Clery and Gillebride O Clery vere the brothers Lughaidh and Giolla Brighde O Cleirigh, ne of whom will be mentioned presently.

Lughaidh O Cleirigh, son of Maccon, son of Cuchoigriche, is best known as the author of the Life of Aodh Ruadh O Domhnaill (1586-1602) and as one of the originators of the Contention of the Bards. By a strange slip John O Donovan, n his Preface to the edition of the Four Masters states (page xvii) that Cucogry or Peregrine O Clery [son of Lughaidh] " wrote in Irish a life of the celebrated Hugh Roe O Donnell, vho died in Spain in 1602, which was transcribed in many nstances verbatim " into the Annals. This statement is epeated by O Grady (*Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts*, 469), hough this scholar comes nearer to the truth of the matter, *bid.* 23 (the small type under heading of Egerton 123 shows onfusion). There is no escaping what the Four Masters hemselves say (p. lxvii)—namely, that they transcribed from " the Book of Lughaidh O Cleirigh 1586-1602." This is the Life of Hugh Roe O Donnell, as O Curry correctly intimates, *Manuscript Materials* 22.

Poems by Lughaidh O Cleirigh in the Contention of the Bards are too well known to require particular mention. Tadhg mac Daire's piece initiating the Contention was not ublished before 1616. Aodh O Domhnaill, who took part n it, died in 1618, and the Earl of Thomond (Donnchadh) vas still living when the whole dispute was at an end. Thomond died in 1624. Hence Lughaidh O Cleirigh was living fter the death in Rome of the Earl of Tyrone in July 1616—ow long after we cannot say, though Father Lambert IcKenna states categorically (*Iomarbhaidh na bhFileadh*,

part i, page x) that he died in 1630 (perhaps making an inference from the attested fact that Cucogry O Clery [son of Lughaidh] held certain lands in county Donegal from 1631 to 1632—a conclusion manifestly not justified).

"Lewys O Clery" was one of the jurors appointed by Sir Arthur Chichester in 1609 for the investigation of the terms and conditions of land-holdings in Donegal on the eve of the Plantation of Ulster. Brian O Corcrain the poet was similarly appointed in the county of Fermanagh. These jurors and other men of their calling—Eochaidh O hEoghusa the poet, for example—were a short time afterwards treated in a mild way as benefactors of Chichester and the Dublin Government in the scheme of Plantation. The nature of the services they rendered is best understood from one of the writings of Sir John Davys himself, Chichester's fellow in the work of the great swindle of Ulster:—

> Touching the certainty of the duties or provisions yielded unto M'Guire out of these mensal lands, they referred themselves unto an old parchment roll, which they called an indenture, remaining in the hands of one O Brislan, a chronicler and principal brehon of that country. Whereupon O Brislan was sent for, who lived not far from the camp, but was so aged and decrepit as he was scarce able to repair unto us. When he was come we demanded of him the sight of that ancient roll, wherein, as we were informed, not only the certainty of M'Guire's mensal duties did appear, but also the particular rents and other services which were answered to M'Guire out of every part of the country.
>
> The old man, seeming to be much troubled with this demand, made answer that he had such a roll in his keeping before the war, but that in the late rebellion it was burned among other of his papers and books by English soldiers. We were told by some that were present that this was not true; for they affirmed that they had seen the roll in his hand since the war.
>
> Thereupon my Lord Chancellor, being then present with us, did minister an oath unto him, and gave him a very serious charge to inform us truly what was become of the roll. The poor old man, fetching a deep sigh, confessed that he knew where the roll was, but that it was dearer to him than his life, and therefore he would never deliver it out of his hands unless my Lord Chancellor would take the like oath that the roll should be restored to him again.
>
> My Lord Chancellor smiling gave him his word and his hand that

e would have the roll redelivered unto him if he would suffer us to ake a view and a copy thereof.

And thereupon the old brehon drew the roll out of his bosom, where e did continually bear it about him. It was not very large, but it as written on both sides in a fair Irish character; howbeit, some art of the writing was worn and defaced with time and ill-keeping. Ve caused it forthwith to be translated into English, and then we erceived how many vessels of butter and how many measures of meal nd how many porks and other such gross duties did arise unto M'Guire ut of his mensal lands, the particulars whereof I could have expressed f I had not lost the translated copy of the roll at Dublin; but these rifles are not worthy to be presented to your Lordship's knowledge. ir John Davys to Robert Earl of Salisbury 1607.

It may be said that O Brislan and the like of him could not avoid the wretched task of spying which they were called upon to perform, but that is the class of work for which about half a dozen men of the learned families of Ulster secured small estates of land (for life only) under the Plantation. "Loy O Cleary" and "Shane O Cleary," with nine others, shared an allotment of 960 acres in the Precinct of Doe and Fanad, or Kilmacrenan, in 1610. It is no surprise, therefore, when we find Cucogry O Clery a tenant on sufferance in 1632 —"being a meere Irishman, and not of English or British descent or sirname."

In a Brussels manuscript is found the beginning of a romance concerned with the adventure of Conall Gulban, ancestor of the O Donnells and other families. It has been printed in *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* (xiv 213-69) and n *Irisleabhar Maighe Nuadhat* (1932-3). This composition s so similar in style and diction to the *Life* of Hugh Roe that t seems likely that both works came from the same hand.

In the R.I.A. manuscript 23 M 5, page 247, the following genealogy of the scribe, Sean O Cleirigh, appears :—

SEAN O CLEIRIGH

m Padraicc m Casnamhaidh m Cairbre m Diarmada
m Cucoiccriche do cug 1664 m Lughaidh m Miccon.

To Cuchoigcriche, son of Lughaidh O Cleirigh, the transcription of at least six manuscripts has been attributed :—

23 N 28—"in the handwriting of Cucocriche O Clery" (O Donovan, *Topographical Poems* 1862, page [1]); "scribe, Cuchoigriche O Cleirigh,

to judge by the handwriting" (Academy Catalogue [printed] 395). The scribe's name does not appear in the manuscript.

23 P 24—*Life of Red Hugh O Donnell.* This manuscript is described by O Curry as "in the handwriting of Cucogry O Clery, the son of the original compiler" (*Manuscript Materials* 22, footnote; see also *ibid.* 25, footnote). The Academy Catalogue says: "Comparison with 23 N 28 shows that this ms. is the work of the same gifted scribe Cuchoigriche (Peregrine) O Cleirigh" (396). But again "there is no subscriptio in the ms. itself." *Ignotum per ignotius.*

23 K 32—*Leabhar Gabhála*, described as "the authoritative ms." in a foreword to "The Book of Conquests of Ireland, The Recension of Michel O Cleirigh, Part i" (Dublin *circa* 1916). Again there is no mention of the scribe in the book itself.

23 D 17—*Book of Genealogies.* In an appendix to this manuscript there is a copy of the Will of "Cucogry . . . . " O Curry, *op. cit.* 561. There is no signature in the body of the manuscript, but O Donovan refers (*Tribes and Customs of Hy Fiachrach* 396) to the Will of Cucogry O Clery as in preservation "in his genealogical manuscript."

National Library 131. Miscellaneous verse and prose, including the portion of the romance of Conall Gulban already referred to. This manuscript is a splendid specimen of penmanship, but again there is no signature anywhere in the book, though the official catalogue of the newly acquired Phillipps collection says: "Scribe, Cu Coigcrich O Cleirigh (Cucogry O Clery) 16—" (page 24).

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale no. 2542-3. See *Irish Texts* iii, 40.

Before making any comment on the facts here presented it must at once be stated that the Annalist Cuchoigcriche O Cleirigh was son of Diarmaid, not son of Lughaidh:—

As iatt na croinicidhe & an taos ealadhna do bhattor ag sgriobhadh an leabhair sin adubhromor:

an brathair Michel O Clerigh;
Muiris mac Torna Ui Mhaoilconaire fri re aoinmhiosa;
Fearfesa mac Lochlainn Ui Mhaoilchonaire a contae Ross Commain ina ndis;
Cucoigcriche mac Diarmata Ui Clerigh a contae Dhuin na nGall;
Cucoigcriche O Duibgennain mac Tuathail a contae Liath ttroma; & Conaire O Clerigh (.i. mac Donnchadha) a conta Dhuin na nGall. (*Gleanings from Irish Manuscripts* [2] 75).

O Donovan in his Introductory Remarks to the Annals repeatedly says that Cuchoigcriche, son of Lughaidh O Cleirigh, was one of the Four Masters. O Curry (*Manuscript*

aterials 178) says the same thing, and the statement has, course, been made again and again since the time of these holars. It is the foregoing passage, from one of the original pies of the Annals (See O Donovan, page xvi), which egatives the whole series. The question, therefore, who anscribed the manuscripts will depend on three items :—

(1) Is the handwriting in all six volumes the same ?
(2) Is the handwriting of the Will (in 23 D 17) the same as that in the body of the volume ?
(3) Is the defaced signature " Cucogry . . . . . " that of Cuchoigriche, son of Lughaidh O Cleirigh ?

he answer to (1) and (2) must be given by someone capable f making a minute examination and comparison of hands. he answer to (3) seems to be that, as Sean O Cleirigh who rought apparently all these manuscripts save one to Dublin bout 1817 claimed to be the direct descendant of Lughaidh O leirigh through his son Cuchoigriche, the Cucogry of the Will signature is the person whom Sean O Cleirigh supposes im to have been. He would naturally have been in possession f the tradition which he has given expression to in the enealogy above cited ; but it must be said that when he ays Cuchoigcriche, son of Lughaidh O Cleirigh, died in 1664, e is drawing an unwarranted inference from the date found n the Will. O Curry rightly says that the maker of the Will may not have died for five or six years after 1664. It s also to be noted that the pedigree provided by Sean O leirigh may not be right. There is no other evidence that know of for Cuchoigcriche O Cleirigh, son of Lughaidh.

Brother of Lughaidh O Cleirigh was CUCHOIGCRICHE, son f Maccon, son of Cuchoigcriche, son of Diarmaid (1522). O Reilly (*Irish Writers* clxxviii) mentions this poet, but wrongly nterprets his name and confuses him with another Cuchoigcriche O Cleirigh, whose father's name is not recorded and who wrote for Turlogh, son of Caffar O Donnell, and for Calvagh Roe, son of Maghnus O Donnell, as many as perhaps sixty years later. The only piece from the hand of Cuchoigcriche, son of Maccon, which is known commences : " Rug cobhair

ar Chonallchaibh." Portion of it has been published by Eleanor Knott (*Irish Syllabic Poetry* 70) under the title "Tokens of a Rightful Prince." It belongs to the year 1603, when Rudhraighe O Domhnaill was created Earl of Tyrconnell.

Duibhgheann O Cleirigh, brother of Lughaidh, was killed in 1600 (Four Masters vi, 2198).

Seaan O Cleirigh and Diarmaid O Cleirigh, sons of Cosnamhach (1584), have been identified above with the Shane O Clery and the Dermot O Clery mentioned in Fiant of Elizabeth 6761. The former was the grantee under the Plantation in 1610, and we may credit that he was also the Seaan O Cleirigh who composed one poem in the Contention of the Bards, though we cannot prove it.

Last of all there is Cuchoigcriche, son of Diarmaid, one of the Four Masters. This man lived until 1662 or after. Most certainly he was the scribe of the Brussels MS. above referred to, though the name of his father is, apparently, not mentioned therein. He composed a poem in the year mentioned on the death of Mary, sister of Hugh Roe O Donnell :—

Cuchoigcriche O Cleirigh mac Diarmada do rinne so ag eccaoine imtheachta chloinne Aodha mic Maghnusa & go hairidhe Maire duine as deidhionaigh do ecc don chloinn sin :

Ní deiredh leóin do leth Cuinn

"Cuchoigcriche O Cleirigh, son of Diarmaid, composed this lamenting the deaths of the children of Aodh, son of Maghnus [O Domhnaill], and particularly Mary, who was the last of that family to die."

(National Library MS. 167, 284).

The date 1662 is given in quatrain 41. Particulars of Mary and her earliest husbands may be read in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* June 1929. She was last married to David Burke.

The reader will have noticed what a large amount of material has come down to us from the members of the O Cleirigh family, despite the ravages of time. It is surely a scandal that to this day so much of it remains unpublished. If memorials of the kind were in the possession of any other nation in Europe, they would be ransacked for information by eager scholars and brought to light at the public expense.

Paul Walsh

RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION IN MEXICO

BY MICHAEL KENNY, S.J.

TO a missionary as well as to a liberty-loving people Mexico should prove a gratifying and even an inspiring ıeme. In "The Mexican Crisis," which was carried in part y STUDIES 1927, I said it was "doubtful if the history of hristendom presents such another heroic line as the mission- ries of Mexico. They brought the indomitable valor and nd endurance of the Conquistadores to a more glorious and nduring conquest." A recent visit convinced me that the riests and particularly the Jesuits are true to that inheritance. n the latest of a series of articles I have been writing on Iexican conditions for the *Baltimore Catholic Review* at the nstance of the illustrious alumnus of Mungret College, Arch- ishop Curley, I recorded that, though less than three hundred riests are now tolerated in all Mexico, some two thousand re still there toiling bravely for their people at the risk of berty and life. I mentioned the aged Archbishop Orozco, vho recently ordained twenty priests in a cave, and other unted prelates who pontificate in rags, particularly one vho is unnamed because Federal assassins are upon his track. 'or its reminiscence of the heroism of Irish penal days, this assage may be cited :—

"A theologian of highest rank, a scholar, an orator, a teacher nd a writer of distinction, this prelate has for nine years defied decrees f expulsion and, despite constant espionage, has traversed the Sierra rom crag to crag, bringing encouragement to his people, who in turn isk their lives for his defence. The Mexican Constitution also pro- ibits priestly training. This bishop is providing for the priesthood f the future. There is a rude log cabin in the Sierra Madre which s dormitory, dining room, lecture and study hall and chapel for twenty- wo young men whom he himself is training for the ministry and roviding the complete ecclesiastical course. Often they have had o fly for their lives and build another log seminary in a more remote ierra fastness. In the Irish penal days Bishop O'Gallagher held uch a seminary in the mountains of Donegal; and, when driven

thence, he trained other youths in the Bog of Allen. From that school came several patriot prelates, among them Dr. Doyle, who divided with O'Connell the honors of Catholic Emancipation. May we not expect that emancipators of Faith and country will yet issue from that log seminary in the Sierra, where again bishop and priest aspirant meet 'feloniously to learn'?"

Extending 1,833 miles on the southwestern border of the United States, Mexico has a population of 15,000,000, of whom some forty per cent. are pure Indian, fifty per cent. Mestizo or Indo-Spanish with Indian usually predominating, and ten per cent. purely white. There are scarcely any negroes —for the reason that slavery was never permitted in Mexico. It is predominantly an Indian nation with native outlook in all except in its Christian culture; and in both these respects it presents a striking contrast to its northern neighbour, where the native remnants are less than one half of one per cent., while scarcely one half of these are Christians. The relative conditions are due to the fact that the first aim of Spanish policy as well as of missionary effort was to Christianize the natives and preserve them. Aiming solely at profit and aggrandisement and finding the natives an obstruction to material progress, the Protestant Anglo-Saxons crystallized their policy in the phrase: "A good Indian is a dead Indian." Hence the United States has no Indian problem, having killed it off, and Mexico, with her natives kept both alive and good by Christian zeal and sacrifice, presents the problem of a mainly Indian nation foreign in most respects to the European but particularly to the Anglo-Saxon concept of material civilization.

There is now more Indian blood in Mexico than Cortez found there at his conquest; and it is there because Christian zeal prevailed over profiteering. In 1524 twelve Spanish and three Flemish Franciscans entered Mexico; and soon they and their successors, with the native output of the schools and colleges they founded, mastered the dozen languages and the hundred dialects of the warring, nomad, idol-worshipping and often cannibal tribes, and transformed them in a century into a devout people of a distinct and

utonomous Catholic culture, which is still illustrated by orks of art and artistry and architecture and varied literary roductions contributed by native hands.

Jesuits, Dominicans, Benedictines, Augustinians also ounded training schools, academies of arts and crafts, colleges f higher studies for natives and Mestizos as well as Spaniards nd Creoles; and they formed pueblos, with church and chool and hospital, from coast to coast under native mayors, overnors, and teachers. A printing press furnished Indian ext books in 1534, and in 1553 was opened the University f Mexico supplementing all the faculties of Salamanca with hairs of Indian languages, and long rivalling it in scholastic epute. This marvellous transformation was accelerated by he Apparition of the Blessed Virgin at Guadalupe, near Mexico City, to a poor Indian named Diego, on whose mantle she imprinted the marvellous image that is now universally venerated as Our Lady of Guadalupe. It soon became imprinted on the native heart, and the imprint is still there.

Von Humbolt wrote in 1810 that the schools and colleges and various benevolent institutions in Mexico were in number and character far in advance of the United States of that period, while literacy was more universal than in any other American country.

Rapid decline in general culture and public well-being followed the replacement of Spanish domination in 1810 by a series of mock republics ruled for the most part by a bandit minority who robbed and antagonized the Church to maintain themselves in power and pelf. This antagonism was promoted by the Masonic Order, which again was fostered and in part founded by the first United States Envoy, Joel R. Poinsett, in order by secret machinations to organize parties who would sell out northern Mexico to the United States. He thus created a political pro-American machine of Masonic personnel and purpose, which, through the arms and other support it has received from American Administrations, has been enabled through a less than ten per cent. minority to rule and ruin Mexico for the greater part of a century.

Poinsett's immediate aim was to form enough slave states

out of Mexican territory to enable the pro-slavery South to dominate the abolitionist North, and he found that in order to effect this the power of the Catholic Church in Mexico must be broken. In New Orleans, 1825, he got the Supreme Masonic bodies to head their signed and sworn program with resolutions that the Church must be shorn of all civic rights, that all her schools and all education must be monopolized by the State, and that religion must be excluded from all teachings. This is the program that the Juarez code enacted in 1857, that the Carranza and Villa banditry further extended in the Constitution of 1917, and that Calles and his communist gang have fully and finally realized in 1934, imposing a most rabidly atheizing education on all schools by constitutional amendment.

Through arms and moneys secured in the United States, and even by armies and navies rushed to their aid by President Buchanan and others, and again by Union forces and munitions on the Rio Grande after the Civil War, and in our own day by President Wilson's seizure of Vera Cruz and Tampico, the United States Administrations have given consistent support to the bandit minority, and never once to conservative leaders who think and would govern on essentially American principles. The Cristeros rose in 1926 under the banner of "Christ the King" for Faith, Fatherland, and Liberty; and despite the strict embargo held against them by our government while it supplied munitions freely to their enemies, they were making a winning fight in a dozen states when Calles patched up a treaty with Church that stopped the revolt. He and his gang broke their pledge within a week; and they have since executed some five thousand of the amnestied Cristero leaders and many priests. The orgies of persecutions and robberies and murderings went on, until now the Church is as bare of property and rights as happened in the worst of Ireland's penal days; to Church and people there is not a shred of religious or any other liberty left.

The bigoted sects that had dominant political influence in the United States up to the repeal of the Prohibition amendment, and the Supreme Council of the 33rd degree Scottish

te Masonry gave enthusiastic support to the Mexican
secutors of the Church. This and the urgings of powerful
nerican companies and individuals, that secured and still
ure oil and mining concessions in Mexico, will account
United States support of the persecuting and corrupt
gimes and of the present Ambassador Daniels' laudations
Calles and his dereligionizing acts and policies.

But the power of the United States' sects has waned;
d the Masonic Council's claim of political control over its
ree million membership has been exploded. Following
y exposure in October of present Mexican conditions the
neral public gradually became aware that the National
evolutionary Party, the only one permitted in Mexico,
as a communist, atheistic force, as determined as Moscow
extinguish not only the Catholic religion but all religion
d set up an atheistic communism on the grave of liberty.

The exclusion by the Mexican government of some secular
pers of wide range that published my interviews stimulated
quiry; and the general arraignment that followed in the
tholic press and in public meetings addressed often by
ading Protestants and Jews, and specifically in Congress
non-Catholic as well as Catholic Congressmen and Senators,
duced the great dailies of New York and Washington and
icago and other cities to publish series of articles by special
rrespondents on Mexican conditions. The leading magazines
ve also published contributions to the same effect, con-
ming for the most part, and often supplementing, the
cts of persecuting cruelties, atheizing and perverse educa-
onal monstrosities, and general subversion of all liberty
at I had previously exposed. This is the first time that
e American press has furnished the people with some idea
the communistic system on their borders and the unspeakable
trages that have been perpetrated with their own gover-
ent's connivance and often with its positive support.

These revelations have also aroused the Catholic body
a unity and energy of civic protest that it had not risen
before. A resolution that was sent out in October of last
ar by the students of Spring Hill College to a thousand

educational institutions throughout the States, brought abou a widespread student propaganda in favour of Mexico, an was the model of thousands of resolutions that poured an are still pouring from all quarters into Washington. It reads :–

AMERICAN STUDENTS, ATTENTION : Whereas it is the fixed deter mination of the government of Mexico, by organic law and drasti administrative force, to extirpate religion and religious worship fron that commonwealth and to force atheistic and gross sexual instructio upon all schools and teachings, thus " to take possession of the con sciences of the children, of the consciences of the youth " ; and likewis in view of the sympathetic comments of our American Ambassado on this educational program and its supreme author, Plutarco Calles

BE IT RESOLVED :

1. That we the students of Spring Hill College, in the Stat of Alabama, do hereby make our own the cause of the student and of the people of Mexico, who, in the name of Christ the King are battling for the freedom of education and religious libert against communistic and atheistic tyranny :

2. That we call upon our government to correct effectivel its Ambassador's flagrant misrepresentation of the spirit of ou Constitution and the sympathies of our people and, BE IT FURTHE RESOLVED :

3. That we call upon the students of all American schools t unite with us in support of religious and educational freedom o our borders, and to enter protest with the Federal State Depart ment and their Congressional Representatives against the lendin of any support by our government, directly or indirectly, to th persecution of religion in Mexico and the throttling of educationa liberties.

What impressed the public imagination most was th worse than barbaric lewdness of the anti-Christian teaching now being forced by public authority on all the children o Mexico, and the clear evidence that the onslaught was mad not merely on the Catholic Church but upon religion as suc and upon all the moralities it fosters. The grand exempla whom Calles held up as the model of all governors was Garrid Canabal of Tabasco. Having expelled all priests from tha State and having closed and confiscated all churches, h issued a treatise on Socialistic Education, which his picke

;islature promptly adopted as ordered. He had it illustrated th pictured mockeries of the Way of the Cross and of the ost sacred religious beliefs and practices ; he told them that od and Christ and religion were myths and were debasing e masses, until he had taught them to burn up their Christian mbols and " fetiches " and schooled them in scientific cialism. This consisted in marching the children into hools singing " Uno, dos, No hay Dios " (One, two, There no God), and then in teaching the minutest facts of sex primary grade boys and girls, illustrated by naked exposure nd by even more nauseating devices.

This sexual system was adopted and extended in the ficial program issued by Secretary of Education Bassols, 933 ; and Bassols and Canabal are now the dominating embers of Mexico's Cabinet. At cattle shows, which he ompelled the school children to attend, Canabal gave the rize animals such names as " God " and " Christ " and Virgin Mary," and he formally baptized the prize bull as Pope " and led him in mock procession to the palace. He anned by heavy penalties all Christian or religious names or places or persons and even from tombstones ; and the resent government, in which he and his armed Red Shirt uffians are the strongest force, are employing every device f brutal pressure to make his methods universal.

Premising that " God is a grotesque, fanaticizing, debasing nyth," they put this Canabal system into organic law and re now enforcing it throughout the land. How, it is asked, an a less than ten per cent. minority impose such Soviet nonstrosities on a people more than ninety per cent. Catholic ? Their style is simpler even than Moscow's. The minority ave organized gangs, called army and police, thoroughly upplied with United States arms, munitions and airplanes ; nd the people are shut out from such supply. Their armed angs run the elections, and if, despite these precautions, ostile candidates are elected, the P. N. R. Committee on ualification of candidates promptly counts them out. This appens in all State and Federal elections, with the result hat the National Revolutionary Party candidates are always

returned, even when overwhelmed at the polls. The farce was especially marked in 1929 by the counting out of José Vasconcelos, now the candidate of the Defenders of Liberty. This will supply the answer to another obvious question: "Why do the people put up with it?"

In fact they do not; and their heroic resistance at terrible risks augurs well for the liberty movement they are now organizing widely and effectively against overwhelming odds. Two million voters had sent in signed resolutions of protest, and when these were ignored by the mongrel legislatures they had the courage to make their protests vocal and public. Recently a hundred thousand men and women, in a demonstration of protest, marched into Mexico City in face of tear gas and batoning. Similar marchings of women and school children as well as fathers of families and youths have been held throughout the country, though subject to the firing and bombshells of Canabal's Red Shirts and police. At Guadalajara on March 3, over three thousand women and children, bearing placards denouncing atheo-communist education, braved the fire of the Red Shirts; and though several were killed and many wounded, they marched to the governor's palace urging their demands and crying "Viva Cristo Rey." Monster indignation meetings that were organized by fathers and students were also shrapnelled; and this but served to further unify the university bodies against the whole government program and personnel.

I was present at a secret convention in Mexico City of delegates from the twenty-four Universities of the country. For six days, under the guidance of the Jesuit Fathers, they discussed the best methods of resisting the atheizing education and other dereligionizing projects and of defending and diffusing Christian culture; and on the seventh morning nearly all the delegates knelt at Mass and Holy Communion at the altar of Our Lady of Guadalupe. They returned to their States, and within a week the Federated University Students were holding meetings and marchings and organizing public protest against atheo-communist education. They succeeded in forcing the government to exempt the Universities

om its application; and their influence is now extending rther.

The allied societies of Fathers and Mothers of Families ave practically emptied the government schools in many stricts. Since private schools are forbidden, they hold asses in their homes, graded from house to house; and the iding of these by the Red Shirts and police has become creasingly perilous to the raiders. The Defenders of Liberty roups have been multiplying, and they have managed to et sufficient arms to hold their own against the Red Shirt angs. They are being formed into a nucleus in many states, omewhat after the Sinn Fein fashion of Michael Collins, or the general revolution that is now in the making.

This is a national uprising against Callism on civil, social nd economic grounds, and is not specifically religious. It Catholic or Christian only in so far as the concentrated nslaught on religion and its practices has brought countless ther grievances to a climax; and the cry is for universal berty, civil and religious, under a constitution built on these rinciples for the common good and not for a clique of "Com-unist" millionaires under the leadership of Calles.[1]

The Church is not a party to this movement; but Arch-ishop Ruiz, the Apostolic Delegate, has emphasized in a ecent Pastoral, the right of the people to defend themselves; nd should they determine that only by arms can they recover nd defend their natural rights, the Church would have nought o say, "neither promoting nor prohibiting." Their prospects f success are enhanced by the understanding and practical ympathy now being manifested for the first time by the eople of the United States. The secular press in the larger ties have been issuing a series of revealing articles on the ersecutions they found launched by law and force against l religion and all liberty in Mexico; and Father Coughlin,

[1] "But it still remains a fact that Calles is personally the richest man in Mexico. owns El Mante, the richest sugar mill in Mexico, worth ten million pesos; the estate Santa Barbara, worth two million; the estate of Soledad de la Mota, worth a million d a half; and he is the principal stockholder in three great corporations—the F. Y. V. mpany, the Peraleo Company, and the Azucan Company." (Interview with Arch-hop Ruiz y Flores, Apostolic Delegate to Mexico, in *The Commonweal*, March 8, 1935).

the famous "Radio priest" of Detroit, has given to his mo than ten million audience a clear and inspiring account of th Mexican horrors and their own government's responsibilit for the tyranny that perpetrates them. This was at th instance of his Bishop, Most Rev. Michael Gallagher, a Mur gret College alumnus.

The Catholic body in the United States is now mo determined and its action more intelligent than heretofo in regard to Mexico's rights and America's duties. Th Knights of Columbus, who in 1926 organized an expensiv Catholic campaign in behalf of Mexican Catholics, but droppe it through a futile understanding with our then Adminis tration, are now organizing their 500,000 members, an through them the Catholic laity, to demand and exact a citizens that our government take suitable action against th destruction of human rights in Mexico and the outrage perpetrated on American citizens as well as natives. Pro testant and Jewish as well as Catholic legislators introduce resolutions in Congress to that effect; and the Committe of the Knights of Columbus was instrumental in inducin Senator Borah to bring before the Senate his famous Resolu tion demanding a Congressional investigation into the fact of persecution in Mexico and effective corresponding actio by the United States Administration.

But the Administration proved mysteriously obstinate Millions of protests against their connivance with Mexica tyranny through Ambassador Daniels's favouring utterance and otherwise went unheeded; and they exercised ever influence to block or kill the Borah Resolution. This is al the more strange in view of the "New Deal" which Presiden Roosevelt has based on the principles of the Leo XIII an Pius XI encyclicals. However, the latest news is that th Administration has suddenly modified its attitude and wil no longer oppose Congressional investigation. On March 25 in Washington, within ear-shot of the Capitol and Whit House, Archbishop Curley delivered an address which ha changed the situation. He stated on personal knowledg that the Administration had given instructions to frustrat

ther efforts on behalf of persecuted Christians in Mexico
l to prevent Congressional investigation into these
uman outrages. Citing the numerous historical inter-
itions of President and Congress in favour of persecuted
ristians and Jews in distant lands, he said :—

> Secretary of State Hull, in refusing to express a formal and
> nified protest to the Mexican Foreign Office, is creating a new
> parture in American diplomatic practice and is reversing an honorable
> l time-honored principle of American sympathy and protest on
> alf of the oppressed in other lands, substituting for this century-
> tradition an unjustifiable policy of ignoble silence . . . Millions
> American citizens who have devoted their blood and treasure for
> maintenance of this republic have a right to learn from some
> horitative source just what is blocking public hearings on this
> stion. One word from the Administration would secure favourable
> sideration. This word has not been uttered . . . Consequently,
> fellow citizens, irrespective of race or creed, are faced with the
> grettable but undeniable fact that the present Administration is
> ged in definite opposition to the maintenance of one of the most
> zed principles of American life and international obligation.

The Archbishop of Baltimore's words, as wise and timely
they were courageous, have had instant effect throughout
e country, as in Washington, and give promise of moving
e Administration to range itself no longer with the des-
oyers of all liberty in Mexico. Even this negative assistance
ll suffice to enable the defenders of liberty to overthrow the
que that enchains it. A postscript to my articles, which
ll soon be issued in book form, has some acknowledgments
hich may throw further light on the kind of people for whom
ey were pleading.

"The writer would pay tribute to the many men and
omen in Mexico who supplied him at much risk with ample
terials, were not their naming the equivalent of sentences
jail or to death. He would also record his lasting indebted-
ss for the thrill of inspiration furnished him by the examples
heroic sacrifice and religious loyalty it was his privilege
witness in men and women and children of all classes.

"Among these he would mention : the Indians who wove
cunningly an immense carpet of multi-coloured flowers

for Our Lady of Guadalupe Shrine that he mistook it for great Persian rug, and who, by faithful worship in the plundered churches, atone for such sacrilege; the tradesm and peasants who set up altars in their shops and homes wh their churches were robbed of them; the children who sa out bravely in chorus, "Hay, Dios, hay, Dios," when taug that God is not; the student delegates of twenty-four univ sities who risked their careers by training for a week in Mexi City under Jesuit guidance to preserve their nation's instit tions from the atheo-communist taint; the Catholic leade of National Defense who daily challenge death for liberty and the two thousand priests who, often in penury and ra and hunted as felons, still bring the Bread of Christ to the people.

"A secular correspondent gives the Jesuits the cred for preserving the Faith in Mexico. This is generous exagger tion; but fraternal bonds must not deprive them of their du They are some two hundred in number, all native Mexica and all under sentence of expulsion; but every one of the is there, under varied guise, organizing young and old, paren and sodalities, students and teachers, workers and merchant employers and employees, and issuing and distributi apposite literature to keep the Faith in Mexico. Experien in many Provinces of both hemispheres warrants the judg ment that, in ability and virtue and multiple sacrifici activity and in sterling patriotic as well as religious devote ness, there is no Jesuit body in the world superior to th Jesuits of Mexico, nor truer to the ideals of Ignatius of Loyol The spirit of Father Miguel Pro, Mexico's most venerate martyr, obviously animates his brethren.

"Altogether, our people may take the message confident to heart: The Catholics of Mexico are brethren worth prayi for and working for and fighting for."

MICHAEL KENN

EZECHIEL AND HIS VISIONS

BY HUGH POPE, O.P., D.S.S.

By the rivers of Babylon there we sat and wept
when we remembered Sion.
On the willows in the midst thereof
we hung up our instruments.
How shall we sing the Songs of the Lord
in a strange land? (Ps. 136).

ISAIAS and Jeremias had foretold the Captivity in Babylon, but few believed their words, and now Ezechiel sat in the midst of the captives by the River Chobar."[1] He had been deported thither with the batch of unfortunates whom Nabuchodonosor carried away after his second onslaught on Jerusalem, B.C. 597.[2] Among them was the ill-fated Joachin, grandson of the illustrious Josias the reformer.[3] Joachin had reigned but three months of his eighteenth year, and now he was to languish in prison for no less than thirty-seven years till Evil Merodach "spoke to him kindly and set his throne above the thrones of the kings that were with him in Babylon."[4] A truly tragic record! With the boy king went all the sacred vessels, all the princes and all the valiant men, the king's mother, his servants, his nobles and his eunuchs, some eighteen thousand souls.[5] If we could but have followed that awful trek what sights we should have witnessed! How many must have fallen by the way; how many have arrived pitiable wrecks of their former selves!

Though the sacred record tells us nothing of any priests who were carried away with the rest, it was inevitable that some of them at least should have shared their fate; one among these we know, "Ezechiel the priest, the son of Buzi."[6]

[1] Ezech. i. 1.
[2] For Nabuchodonosor had already in the previous year carried off Eliachim, surnamed Joachim by the reigning Pharao when he placed him on the throne in the place of his brother Joachaz, whom he carried off to Egypt (2. Chron. xxxvi. 1 8, Dan. i. 1-2).
[3] 4. Kgs. xxiv. 9-16. [4] *Ib.* xxv. 27-30, Jer. lii. 31-34. [5] 4. Kgs. xxiv. 13-16.
[6] Ezech. i. 1.

Already a priest then in B.C. 597, he must have been at leas thirty years old[1] when carried to Babylon, and must hav been born about 630 B.C. or just before Jeremias bega his ministry "in the thirteenth year of Josias"[2] or 628/ B.C. His last dated prophecy is referred to the twenty seventh year of the Exile or 570 B.C.

The king languished in prison, but the rest of the exile seem to have been free to do as they pleased. Jeremias i fact had bidden them "build houses and dwell in them plant orchards and eat the fruit of them . . . and see the peace of the city, for in the peace thereof shall be you peace."[3] Ezechiel himself had his own house, the walls o which he was free to dig through as he pleased.[4] On th whole, then, the exiles seem to have been left undisturbed Many of them, no doubt, led blameless lives, endeavourin to accept their lot as punishment for their sins. But withou question very many, perhaps the majority, had not yet learne their lesson. They pined in exile and looked forward to speedy return to the Holy City, which (despite all the siege it had undergone) yet stood and in which the Temple of thei God, though shorn of much of its treasures, still remaine as Isaias had promised it should. So long as that gloriou memorial of their past history continued to survive, the would still remain a nation and the destruction of the hate Babylon could only be a matter of time.

> Daughter of Babylon, miserable,
> Blessed he who shall repay thee
> The payment thou hast paid unto us.
> Blessed he that shall take and dash
> Thy little ones against the rock!

These and suchlike hopes were fostered by the "false" prophets in their midst, "who follow their own spirit and see nothing,"[6] who are like the mortar of the jerry-builde the worthlessness of which is exposed by the first storm,

[1] Nbs. iv. 3, &c. if the age required for the Levitical body in general is any guide but *cf.* viii. 24. [2] Jer. i. 2.
[3] Jer. xxix. 4-7. [4] Ezech. iii. 14, xii. 1-2.
[5] Ps. 136. [6] Ezech. xiii. 3ff. [7] *Ib.* 10-15, xxii. 28.

en who "see visions of peace for Jerusalem, and there is
o peace."[1] Even women too amongst the exiles bolstered
o these false hopes, "telling lies to My people that believe
es."[2] Worse was the idolatry still prevailing amongst
ie captives: "When they entered among the nations whither
ey went, they profaned my Holy Name"[3]; far worse the
ell nigh incredible idolatry that still prevailed among the
maining inhabitants of the ravaged and apostate Jerusalem.
Truth to tell, the nation as a whole was rotten to the
ore. That in a sentence is the message of Ezechiel. They
re rotten even in exile; the city from which they have been
riven out and to which they hope, despite God's pronounce-
ents, speedily to return, is even more rotten than they.
herefore it must be destroyed, and with it all who are living
rapped in a false sense of security, deceived because wishing
o be deceived. To a torpid populace, then, was Ezechiel
nt, to a "people who come and sit here before thee and
ear thy words and do them not; for they turn them into a
ng . . . Thou art to them as a musical song sung with
sweet and agreeable voice; they hear thy words and they
o them not."[4]

The princes in Jerusalem, too, those who misled the weak
edecias, are hopelessly corrupt,[5] misusing their wealth,[6]
dulterers;[7] her priests have neglected their office,[8] actually
aring on one and the same day to offer children in sacrifice
o idols and then offer the Lord's sacrifice in His temple.[9]
Nor was the populace in general slow to follow the evil
xample of those who should have been their guides: "The
eople of the land have used oppression and committed
obbery . . . afflicted the poor, oppressed the stranger.
nd I sought among them for a man that might stand in
ie gap before Me in favour of the land. And I found none!"[10]
mall wonder then, that "the Chosen People" had become
by-word among the nations round about: "the Philistines
re ashamed of thy wicked ways . . . Thou art a reproach
o the daughters of Syria."[11] The guilt of Israel is far greater

[1] xiii. 16. [2] *Ib.* 19, *cf.* Jer. xxix. [3] xxxvi. 20-23. [4] xxxiii. 21-22.
[5] xi. 1, xix. 1, 9, xxii. 6, 27. [6] vii. 19. [7] xxii. 11-12. [8] xxii. 26.
[9] xxiii. 28-29. [10] xxii. 29. [11] xvi. 27, 57, 33-34.

than that of Samaria: "Thou hast done more wicked thing than they in all thy ways . . . Sodom herself and he daughters have not done as thou hast done."[1] Nor wer things any better in Babylon itself, though it might hav been expected that the sorrows they had had to endure woul have brought them to a better frame of mind. But the ver Elders who came and sat before Ezechiel were whited sepu chres "with uncleanness in their hearts and the stumbling block of their iniquity before their face."[2] Assuredly the were "a provoking house"![3]

* * * *

Ezechiel was the man chosen by God to combat thi deplorable state of affairs. His very name is significant "The man whom God strengthens." And indeed he ha need of all his strength and determination. Osee and Isaias Amos and Jeremias had not succeeded in converting th people from "their most wicked ways"; how then wa this man, deported as they had been, a captive with them selves, to succeed? Had his lot been cast among a peopl filled with anguished repentance, the task of consoling them of encouraging them to bear their fate with patience, woul have been heavy enough. But here they are, still asleep wrapped in security, fascinated by the idolatry they see al around them,[4] defiant though beaten to the ground, stil hypocrites. What is he to do? He is, at God's command to do the maddest, craziest things. It is no longer a tim for words, for reproaches and threats, but for deeds. Ezechie is to "act". His whole daily life is to become an acte parable. He is to lay mimic siege to Jerusalem, sketchin the city on a broken piece of tile;[5] he is to sleep, first o one side and then on the other, for a definite length of days; he is to weigh his food and eat it by measure,[7] to cut off hi hair, weigh it, divide it, burn part of it and scatter the res "in the midst of the city" where all may look on and jee at his doings.[8] Nor is that all. The Prophet is to act befor the eyes of all the scoffers—"the provoking house, wh

[1] xvi. 46-55. [2] xiv. 1-5. [3] ii. 5 & throughout.
[4] viii. 10. [5] iv. 1-3. [6] iv. 4-6. [7] iv. 9-15. [8] v. 1-4.

ve eyes to see and see not, ears to hear and hear not "—
cene which must have provoked ribald mirth : " Prepare
e for removing and remove by day in their sight . . .
ou shalt bring forth thy furniture and thou shalt go forth
the evening in their presence. Dig thee a way through
wall before their eyes and thou shalt go forth through
In their sight thou shalt be carried out upon men's shoulders.
r I have set thee for a sign of things to come."[1] Here
e Latin text has " portentum," signifying not merely a
portent "—a word which in modern English has lost
true significance—but, as God said of Josue the High
iest : " thou and thy friends are portending men, for behold,
will bring my Servant the Orient."[2] This was the true
ory of Ezechiel and all the Prophets : in some mysterious
ay they by their lives, their actions, and their words were
" portend," to typify, to foreshadow the Saint of Saints,
rist Himself, or as God said to Osee : " I have spoken by
e Prophets and I have multiplied visions and I have used
militudes by the ministry of the Prophets."[3]

Small wonder that Ezechiel's compatriots jeered when
ey saw him digging through the wall of his house. How
ey must have laughed when he bade them carry him out
their shoulders ! Yet they did as he bade them. Why ?
rely because, despite their laughter and their jeers, they
new in their heart of hearts that here was no mere play-
ting, that the man of God was, though in dumb show,
aching them something which it would be well for them
understand and take to heart. Yet all they could say
bewildered accents was : " What *art* thou doing ? "

Perhaps it is easy enough for us to marvel at their blindness.
hat we have to ask is, what we ourselves should have done ?
ow terribly impressive the words of Him of whom Ezechiel
as but a shadow : " If they hear not Moses and the Prophets,
either will they believe if one rise again from the dead."[4]

But to Ezechiel, Almighty God said : " I have made thee
watchman to the house of Israel, and thou shalt hear the

[1] xii. 3, 7. [2] Zach. iii. 8.
[3] Osee xii. 10 ; *cf.* St. Jerome on Ezech. iv. 13 & xii. 4. [4] LK. xvi. 31.

word out of my mouth and shall tell it them from me.[1] From that terrible responsibility nothing was to free him he was to be personally responsible: "If thou dost not speak to warn the wicked man from his way, I will require his blood at thy hand."[2] And over and over again during those long and lonely years, now at short, now at longer intervals, did "the word of the Lord come to Ezechiel."[3] How terrible an experience it must have been we have learned from Jeremias. We spoke just now of "the lonely years." Surely that must have been one of the sorest trials of any Prophet and perhaps more than all of Ezechiel. He was married it is true, but we can hardly suppose that his wife understood him any more than did the rest of his countrymen, though indeed she was "the desire of his eyes."[4] But even her he was not to be "as the rest of men"; for when she died he was forbidden to mourn for her—bidden, in other words, to flout (externally at least) the most deeply-rooted of Jewish traditions. "And the people said to me: Why dost thou not tell us what these things *mean* that thou dost?" No, in the calm accents of the narrative, we may be sure, did they say that. No, they stormed at him, for he had offended them in their deepest sensibilities. Speedily came the answer from God: "Thus saith the Lord: I will profane my Sanctuary, the thing that your eyes desire."[5] For even as Ezechiel's wife had been "the desire of his eyes," so was the presumedly inviolable Sanctuary of Jerusalem "the desire of their eyes," "the glory of their realm." But they had forgotten that that same Sanctuary belonged to God and not to them, that they were only its custodians, and "because thou hast violated my Sanctuary I will break thee in pieces and my eye shall not spare."[6]

Ezechiel then, like every Prophet, had to stand alone isolated and apart, a watchman on his tower. Nor should we imagine that, because thus set apart from his fellowmen, he could find consolation in the ever-present thought that God was with him and he with God. How often was

[1] iii. 17, xxxiii. 7. [2] iii. 18-21, xxxiii. 8ff.
[3] iii. 3 & throughout, some fifty-two times. [4] xxiv. 18. [5] xxiv. 21. [6] v. 11.

God with him"? Only at intervals did "the word of e Lord" come to him or "the hand of the Lord"[1] or "the pirit of the Lord fall upon him."[2] Sometimes the Prophet tes these terrible happenings as in the fifth,[3] sixth,[4] seventh,[5] nth,[6] tenth,[7] eleventh,[8] twelfth,[9] twenty-fifth[10] and twenty-venth year[11] of the captivity, not of course that no "word the Lord" came to him in the interval, though (as St. erome remarks) between the twelfth and the twenty-fifth ears we have no dated prophecy. But then, as he remarks another context, "no lapse of time is long when accompanied y faith; nor is there any profit in the whole series of times ast save in so far as it has served to prepare for us that viaticum' of good works whose goal is the future, nay the ernal, and whose limits are the limitless"

What happened, then, in the intervals between these ivine visitations? The Elders came to him over and over gain;[13] for though they did not understand him, they felt hat here was a man of God. But how rarely there came ny answer! And when it did come, how appalling it was! n agony to them; a still greater agony to the lonely Prophet hen he but rarely had a message for them, and when he id have one it was bitter in the extreme; an even greater ource of anguish when his hearers, or those who stood by nd witnessed his strange doings, could only say to him in uzzled tones: "What *art* thou doing?"[14] or "Why dost hou not tell us what these things *mean* that thou doest?"[15] till more grievous when, though they realised that he was ndeed speaking in the Name of God, they said, with in-redible levity: "The vision that this man seeth is for many ays to come, and this man prophesieth of things afar off."[16] n this St. Jerome pithily remarks: "Unbelievers always ay that the prophecies will be fulfilled *some other* time!"[17] Worse still when in their infatuation they dared to turn heir reproaches on God Himself: "You have said, the way

[1] viii. 1, xxxvii. 1, xl. 1. [2] xi. 5. [3] i. 2. [4] viii. 1.
[5] xx. 1. [6] xxiv. 1. [7] xxix. 1.
[8] xxvi. 1, xxx. 1, xxxii. 1. [9] xxxii. 17. [10] xl. 1. [11] xxix. 17.
[13] xiv. 1, xx. 1. [14] xii. 9. [15] xxiv. 19. [16] xii. 27.
[17] *On* Ezech. xii. 20ff., *P.L.* xxiv. 108.

of the Lord is not right? Then hear ye, O house of Israel: Is it My way that is not right, and not rather your ways that are perverse?"[1]

It is a strange fact that nowhere do we read of the people repenting at the voice of any Seer, not even when his words had patently come true. The only approach to such a change of mind is the determination on the part of the populace that Jeremias should not suffer for his bold speaking, "for he hath spoken to us in the name of the Lord our God."[2] It is true, of course, that the Prophets were only concerned with their message; they had to bid the people repent; they were not to chronicle the result of their words. There must always have been those "seven thousand who had not bowed their knees to Baal," those who did at the Prophets' bidding "turn away from their evil ways;" but these remain unchronicled and unsung in human history. It is true, too, that the Prophets rarely saw the fulfilment of their threats unless we except the death of Hananias when Jeremias denounced him.[3] But in this respect Ezechiel stands alone among the great Seers, as we shall see.

We have dwelt upon his threats and denunciations, on his lonely, isolated position, on the intermittent character of the revelations made to him, on the weird and seemingly meaningless things he was called upon to do when he was simply to be "unto you for a sign of things to come"[4]—a sign, too, that was silent, at least for a time.[5] The more we ponder Ezechiel's position the more intolerable it seems, the more difficult to understand how he could have endured it. The explanation seems to lie in the vision wherewith his mission was inaugurated. Isaias saw "the Lord sitting upon a throne, and His train filled the Temple," while the Seraphim sang "Holy, Holy, Holy."[6] Jeremias was favoured with his inaugural visions, which, though wonderful, were still enigmatical.[7] But to Ezechiel was vouchsafed a vision or rather a series of visions, far transcending those granted to the other Prophets. He dates the first with precise care

[1] xviii. 25, 29, xxxiii. 17, 20. [2] Jer. xxvi. 16. [3] Jer. xxviii. 15-17.
[4] Ezech. xxiv. 24. [5] xxiv. 17, 26-27, *cf.* xxxiii. 21. [6] Isa. vi. 1-3. [7] Jer. i.

it was unforgettable ; he describes it, too, with a minuteness detail which has perplexed commentators ever since. n the fourth month, the fifth day of the month, in the h year of the captivity of king Joachin " the word of the rd came to him, the hand of the Lord was upon him, and saw the whirlwind, the mysterious " four living creatures " e " burning coals of fire," and " the noise of their wings e the noise of many waters, as it were the voice of the ost High God ; " above them was a throne, and on the throne e likeness of a man, fire within and round about " as the pearance of the rainbow when it is in a cloud on a rainy y."

Then from out this splendour, which Ezechiel calls " the sion of the likeness of the glory of God," came the awful mmission : " I send thee to a rebellious people that hath volted from me, of a hard face and an obstinate heart." nough he was to dwell among unbelievers and destroyers nd scorpions, he was to know no fear.[1] That vision was it the beginning. In the following year—and again it is ated carefully—the fifth day of the sixth month of the sixth ear, the same amazing vision came to him.[2] On the former ecasion " the Spirit entered into me "[3] and " the Spirit ook me up,"[4] while the voice said to him : " I have made y face like adamant and like flint ; fear them not.[5] I ent away in bitterness in the indignation of my spirit ; r the hand of the Lord was with me, strengthening me. nd I came to them of the captivity, to Tell Abib . . . nd I remained there seven days mourning in the midst of hem."[6] What did his companions think ? They could ot have failed to see that something amazing had happened o him ; for the hand of God had touched him even as Isaias' ps had been touched with the burning coal. Yet he had othing to say to them. And when the Divine message did each him it was incommunicable : " Thou shalt be dumb, ot as a man that reproveth, because they are a provoking

[1] Ezech. i-ii. 6. [2] viii. 1-xi. 25. [3] ii. 2. [4] ii. 12, 14. [5] iii. 9.
[6] iii. 15. The Latin version from which our Douay version is taken has translated ell Abib (the name of the place) " the heap of new corn."

house."[1] Only when God should open his mouth was h to speak; meanwhile he was to act, to go through in dum show those mysterious baffling actions which were to mak "people talk of thee by the walls and in the doorways o the houses, and speak one to another, saying: Come, let u hear what is the word that cometh forth from the Lord And they come, and they hear thy words and do them not for they turn them into a song."[2]

These visions were amazing enough, far transcendin (as we have said) those vouchsafed to other Prophets. Bu even more amazing were the phenomena which accompanie them. For not only did "the Spirit enter into him,"[3] bu the story of this first inaugural vision closes with the words "And the Spirit took me up" and again "the Spirit also lifted me and took me up."[4] We expect some marvellou manifestation, but no—almost an anti-climax—"and I cam to them of the captivity . . ."[5] But this mysterious "up lifting" was a presage of what was to happen later. Fo in the following year, "as I sat in my house and the ancient of Juda sat before me, the hand of the Lord God fell upon me and the likeness of a hand took me by a lock of my head and the Spirit lifted me up between the earth and the heaven and brought me in the vision of God into Jerusalem;" and there he witnessed the idolatrous practices of those unhappy Jews who had not learned the lesson of God's wrath upon their city.[7] The Prophet Habacuc was transported to Babylon, corporally, dinner and all, to provide Danie with a meal.[8] Was it the same with Ezechiel? On the first occasion[9] St. Jerome says emphatically: "Not in the flesh but in the spirit, walking in the spirit he exercised not the works of the flesh; for the Spirit of God was in him."[10] But on ver. 14: "The Prophet was transported, not—as some fancy—in the spirit, but in his very body, as was the case

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[1] xxxiii. 30-32. [2] ii. 1. [3] iii. 12, 14. [4] iii. 15.
[5] viii. 1-3. [6] Chs. viii-x. [7] Dan. xiv. 35. [8] iii. 12.
[9] "Assumpsit et Prophetam, qui non erat in carne sed in spiritu, et ambulans in spiritu carnis opera non implebat, Spiritus enim Dei erat in eo," *P.L.* xxv. 37.
[10] "Transfertur Propheta (non ut quidam aestimant) in spiritu, sed in ipso corpore quod et de Abacuc juxta Theodotionem legimus," *P.L.* xxv. 38.

h Habacuc."[1] Yet apropos of viii. 4 the same Saint says : Vhen he says ' He brought me into Jerusalem in the vision God,' he shows that he was not transported thither in the ly but in the spirit."[2] And again, apropos of the Prophet's urn from that mystic journey—" And the Spirit lifted me and brought me into Chaldaea, to them of the captivity, vision, by the Spirit of God ; and the vision which I had n was taken from me "[3]—St. Jerome remarks : " which ows that the Prophet was not transported in body from bylon to Jerusalem, but in spirit, and that when that ion which had brought him in spirit into Jerusalem was thdrawn he then returned to himself and told them all at had been shown him . . . he had been absent from ose men who had been sitting before him, absent that is spirit but present in the flesh."[4]

It is not waste of time to discuss whether the Prophet as thus transported bodily or only in spirit. For on our derstanding of it will depend our understanding of all e visions which follow, especially of that mysterious temple hich the Prophet portrays with such a wealth of detail. . Jerome waxes humorous when he comes to the interpre- tion of these famous chapters. He had spent four years— uch interrupted years it is true—over his commentary on *zechiel*,[5] and as he pens the brief *Prefaces* to the fourteen ooks of his Commentary, he bewails more and more the mmense difficulty he experiences in finding his way through is " labyrinth."[6] It reminded him of nothing so much his boyish explorations of the Roman catacombs on Sundays hen " the darkness was such that the Prophet's words ight well seem fulfilled : ' Let them go down alive into ell ; ' so too as I read the description of this mysterious mple and as my mental vision cleared and I thought that

[1] " Ostendit se non in corpore sed in spiritu esse translatum," *P.L.* xxv. 78.

[2] xi. 24.

[3] " Quod significat non in corpore Prophetam in Jerusalem de Babylone translatum, l in spiritu, sublataque visione quae eum in spiritu duxerat Jerusalem, reversus est in netipsum et locutus est ad transmigrationem omnia quae ei fuerant demonstrata . . . sens erat ab his qui coram se sederant, absque spiritu, praesens corpore," *P.L.* xxv. 101, milarly on xxxvii. 1, " Eduxit autem eum in spiritu ; non in corpore, sed extra corpus," *L.* xxv. 347.

[4] See *Ep.* cxxvi, from A.D. 411-414.

[5] *Prol.* to Bk. xiv. *on* Ezechiel.

[6] *On* xl. 5, *P.L.* xxv. 375.

I had grasped something, the Divine word slipped aw from me, and I could only exclaim : ' Oh ! The depth the wisdom and knowledge of God ! ' "[1] However, as says to Eustochium who had left him no peace till he h finished his task, " At your desire, and with the gentle bree of the Holy Spirit behind me, I will spread my sails, thou I have no idea on what shore I shall land ! "[2]

Now the Rabbis who preceded Jerome persisted in r garding this temple as one that would actually be built wh the Messias came.[3] Many, if not most, modern interprete seem to regard it as an ideal which Ezechiel sketched b which, owing to subsequent calamities, was never realise St. Jerome will have none of this : " to my mind," he say " it is to be referred to the Church of Christ which we s being built up day by day in His Saints."[4] This templ he points out, cannot of course be Solomon's[5] nor Zorobal bel's[6] ; it is something essentially " spiritual," somethin which shall make the man " who weighs it well in his min turn away from all his iniquities."[7] The vision of that temp is on all fours with the vision of the dried bones : " Just a God had shown him the restoration, nay the ' quickening of the people through the image of the resurrection of th bones in the field, so now in this picture of the temple Go promises the restoration of the city destroyed by fire by th Babylonians fourteen years previously."[8]

But the whole is a prophecy of Christ. Hence quit naturally the " Gate " through which " the Prince " alon shall enter means for Jerome the Blessed Virgin, " quae e ante et post partum virgo permansit,"[9] while the Princ is her Son.[10] Hence, too, " Sadoc " and the priests of hi stock are not historical personages, but " upright men o God."[11] The same principle, too, is to be applied to th mysterious Gog, by whom the Jews—and modern commen tators—understand the invading Scythians,[12] though Josephu

[1] *Prol.* to Bk. xii, *ib.* 369.
[2] *Ib.* 375.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *On* xliii. *ib.* 419.
[5] *On* xl. 4, *ib.* 371.
[6] *Ib.* 419.
[7] *On* xl. 4, *P.L.* xxv. 271.
[8] *On* xliv. 3, *P.L.* xxv. 430.
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *On* xliv. 16, *P.L.* xxv. 435.
[11] *On* Ezech. xxxviii, *P.L.* xxv. 356.
[12] Josephus, *Ant.* I. vi. 1.

no gives the traditional identifications of Mosoch, Thubal, mer and Thogorma) never attempts any identification "Gog";[1] St. Ambrose indeed,[2] whom Jerome does not me but speaks of as "Vir nostrae aetatis haud ignobilis," pposed that "Gog" stood for the Goths, but as St. Jerome ly remarks: "How that idea can be harmonised with e various things said about Gog it is not for me to explain much as for those who hold such views."[3]

St. Jerome gives us a warning which applies to the study every Book of the Bible but perhaps more especially *Ezechiel*. Commenting on the way in which the Prophet as bidden to eat the book given him by God ("and it was veet as honey in my mouth"), St. Jerome remarks: "The st thing to do is to read the straightforward history; that is nat is meant by "eating" the book. But when by assiduous editation we have stored up the Lord's Book in our memories, en are our bellies spiritually filled, our very vitals satu-ted."[1] Now though the story lying at the back of Ezechiel's ophesyings, visions and mysterious actions has of course s interest, yet it must be confessed that there is a certain onotony in the narrative and that—so far as the story of ie captives and their failings are concerned—a single reading ould suffice for most people, while it is hard to read with atience the description of the Temple. A student who is erely interested in the Jewish literature of the sixth century .C. can of course find in *Ezechiel* many fascinating problems. Ie can dig for "sources"; he can try and discover what roofs there are that Ezechiel himself committed the pro-hecies and their framework to writing; he can if he likes ndeavour to reconstruct the narrative as he thinks it must ave been written. But what has he gained as the result f his toil? No one will pretend that God inspired Ezechiel or us to treat his book like that!

No, we are meant to do as St. Jerome tells us: digest he Book, that is to say we have to look for its spiritual meaning, he lessons it can teach us, not of history or criticism, but f the path of the soul towards God. When the sainted maiden

[1] *Ant.* I. vi. 1. [2] *De Fide*, ii. 16. [3] *Prol.* to Bk. xi. *on* Ezechiel *P.L.* xxv. 326.

Eustochium asked St. Jerome to write or dictate a com mentary on this Book, and—if we may be pardoned th expression—kept his nose to the grindstone for four year till he had finished it, she was not asking for an historica dissertation on the author or his times, though (as Jerom shews us at every turn) such information was necessary i she and others would derive from his commentary the frui they clamoured for. What Eustochium wanted was th marrow which she well knew must—because the Book wa inspired—lie embedded in the bare bones of the narrative She wanted to see the Spirit breathed into those bones muc as Ezechiel himself had described the quickening proces in the field of Tell Abib.

From this point of view practically all modern criticism of Ezechiel is most disappointing. The bare bones are pul verised rather than quickened, and the somewhat tedious story becomes even more wearisome. The Rabbis of old were well aware of the danger of so treating a book like *Ezechiel*, and therefore they forbade anyone under thirty years of age to read either *Ezechiel* or the early chapters of *Genesis* or the *Canticle of Canticles*.[1] This was not, as has so often been suggested, because prurient youthful imagina tions might take an unholy delight in the bridal song which serves as the framework of the *Canticle*, but because immature minds would be wholly unable to appreciate the depth of spiritual significance which those narratives enshrined.

Another inspired writer has summarised for us the pro found inner significance of Ezechiel : " It was Ezechiel that saw the glorious vision, which was shown him upon the chariot of cherubims. For he made mention of the enemies under the figure of rain, and of doing good to them that showed right ways." (Ecclus. xlix. 10-11).

HUGH POPE

[1] Prologue to Bk. i on Ezechiel.

ISH BUILDERS OF COLONIAL RHODE ISLAND

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HE diminutive colony of Rhode Island with an area of
merely twelve hundred and fifty square miles—still a spangle
her than a star in the American firmament—was dedicated
soul-liberty, quite as much as the Catholic Lord Baltimore's
atinate of Maryland, by the erratic and individualistic
nders of its several plantations. For exiles or deportees
m the theocratic Massachusett's Bay colonies this was a
ical platform especially as these sectarians differed as much
m each other in religious beliefs as they did from their
e Puritan persecutors. There was the modernistic Anne
tchinson whose daughter married William Collins, an
sh refugee from the Barbados; William Coddington, a
ewd businessman who became a Friend and made his com-
rcial settlement of Newport the seat of Quaker influence;
muel Gorton of Warwick, who was no atheist nor Trini-
ian but the author of a theological platform to his own
culiar liking; William Harris of Providence, a canny lawyer
en if no "impudent morris dancer" or anarchist despite
e characterizations of hostile contemporaries; John Clarke
Newport, physician and preacher, who obtained the liberal
arter of 1663 after a tedious mission in London; and
ger Williams, an arch-Tolerationist, whose religious tenets
ied classification but who approximated the Baptist pro-
sion.[1] To counteract a current view that it was against
e rule of the Gospel to punish transgressors against public
v when the colony was attracting a lawless element who
ught sanctuary from England or the neighbouring colonies,
ger Williams, in 1665, described his philosophy of toleration
d of obedience to lawful rule: "There goes many a ship
sea with many hundred souls in one ship, whose weal and
e is common, and is a true picture of a commonwealth or

[1] All the notes will be found at the end of the article.

a human combination or society. It hath fallen out som times that both Papists and Protestants, Jews or Turks, m be embarked in one ship; upon which supposal I affir that all the liberty of conscience, that ever I pleaded f turns upon these two hinges—that none of the Papists, Pr testants, Jews, or Turks be forced to come to the shi prayers or worship, if they practise any. I further add th I never denied, that notwithstanding this liberty the co mander of this ship ought to command the ship's course, y and also command that justice, peace, and sobriety be ke and practised both among the seamen and the passengers

This spirit of toleration and liberty exemplified by th honest and courageous man was lived in practice in Rho Island's republican federation of primitive towns, which the seventeenth century never housed over ten thousa souls. It might be expected that this toleration of religio beliefs and the admission of landholders to the full rights freemen would attract many immigrants from Great Brita and Ireland who felt the hand of social, economic, politic and religious repression and whose non-conformist views w them no welcome in some of the American colonies. Su was not the case. The isolated colony was unknown, and it was virtually self-sustaining, there was comparatively litt commercial intercourse with the British Isles or with t West Indies. Again Irish Catholics, save as occasional ind viduals, were not migrating of their own free will to t American colonies, not even to Maryland. And the dwelle in Rhode Island, who in depreciation of their importance we known to have described themselves as "poor despise peasants that lived remote in the woods," were not in position to buy many indentured servants or transpor whether they were English or Scottish or Irish.

Some Irishmen did appear in the seventeenth century voluntary immigrants, refugee-servants from the British We Indies, and some transported criminals who ran afoul of harsh code of laws written by a political ascendancy to forti its intrenched, capitalistic position. It would not be difficu to compile a considerable list of Irish, and even Celtic Iris

mes from the colony-state's splendidly edited records; it must be emphasized that the non-English element in nparison to the total population was a negligible fraction, d remained so until 1840.

In Newport, in the seventeenth century, there were such tlers as Edward Larkin as early as 1655, William Heffernan, omas Casey, Richard Dunn, Robert Griffin, and Owen ggins; in Providence, Cornelius Higgins, who purchased nety-eight acres of land in 1682, John Malavey, Joseph vitt, and John Daily; on the Isle of Conanicut, Michael lly (died 1680), a freeman, was ordered by the Council 69) to assemble the inhabitants for defence against the dians; in East Providence, Robert Beers, an Irish brick-er, was killed by the Indians in 1676; in New Shoreham, eutenant Thomas Mitchell (1678); in Westerly, there was hn Macoone, whose name defeated local spellers; in East eenwich, Thomas Dongan, or Dungin, and Charles Macarte re incorporators (the former being in the General Assembly d the latter being from the Isle of St. Kitts with a brother old Kinsale who had been in the Spanish service) along with nstable Mackandrew, Toolys and Caseys. And by the end the century or early in the eighteenth century, there were eeneys, Carys, and Fords in Bristol and Harringtons in North ingston. Among those killed in King Philip's War, there as a Daniel Magennis.[2] These names, somewhat corrupted, ntinued in the local units even though the Irish blood was luted through native marriages in the succeeding generations. 1680, Governor Peleg Sandford, than whom no one was ore intimately coversant with colonial affairs, could inform e Board of Trade and Plantations in London: "That we ve few or none either of English, Scots, Irish, Forreighners, ly a few blakes imported . . . As for Papistes, we knows of ne among us."[3]

With the turn of the eighteenth century, and especially ter 1720, when the Scotch-Irish exiles and the victims of ottish troubles appeared in New England, more Irishmen und their way to Rhode Island. Some may have been serters from British forces; for, commencing with 1702,

a statute was enforced against concealing such deserters from the royal regiments.[4] Of their number one can give no estimate yet an occasional individual stood out in relief or served as an ancestor for a future family of distinction. There was a departure from the tolerant principles of Roger William after 1705 and especially after 1719, or possibly 1729, when Catholics were disfranchised and Jews were declared incapable of holding office.[5] This may have indicated the arrival of occasional Catholic immigrants, the suspicion of their presence or again it may have been merely the result of an unreasoning fear of such dangerous folk.

There was no exclusion of Irishmen from the colony, nor was there a double tax on imported Irish servants as was the case in Maryland. Toleration of sects continued; there was no persecution, no compulsory attendance at church services and no ecclesiastical tithes. Hence a Catholic could easily conceal a faith which he had no open opportunity to practise. At any rate, Irish Catholic names appear in the Quaker and Episcopalian records; for marriage in one of the churches was more usual and respectable than marriage by a magistrate. The Kellys for instance were Quakers. In the marriage lists of Trinity Church, Newport, there was a number of distinctly Celtic names.[6] Rather naturally, Irish denizens turned to the Episcopalian Church, especially as some of its ministers were natives of Ireland. Yet the Rev. Cotton Mather of Boston was at least correct in part when he bitterly noted everything in the way of sects except "Roman Catholics and true Christians."[7]

In Providence, there were a number of interesting Irishmen: John Kelly, whose estate was probated in 1701; James Sullivant, a soldier, was made a freeman in 1719; Daniel Sullivan (1717-1814), who was long a resident; John Fitton (d. 1810), a merchant and a patriot, who arrived from Waterford in 1750; Luke Burns (d. 1788), a cordwainer; Henry Paget, a Protestant gentleman who was admitted a freeman in 1742; Alexander Black (d. 1767), a merchant; Patrick Tracy, who fell fighting with General Montgomery at Quebec and Hope Power, who married James Brown by whom she

l the famous sons, Joseph, Nicholas, John and Moses own, nationally known merchants, philanthropists, and nufacturers.[8] There were a number of known Irish school- sters, although few itinerant teachers were identified in al annals beyond "Mr. A. B. and C." According to an l tradition, the teacher "came like a phantom, proved nself a superior teacher, received no compensation, fur- shed his scholars with books, won the hearts of old and ung, and at the close of his school disappeared as myster- sly as he came." Stephen Jackson (1700-1765), a political fugee from Kilkenny, settled as a teacher in 1724 and thered a competence as a farmer, land-broker, and husband Anne Boone. He left a son, Richard, who became president an insurance company and a member of Congress, whose n, Charles, in turn was an industrialist, a manufacturer, d governor of the State (1845-46). George Taylor, a native Limerick and probably a Quaker, held local offices and ught school nearly forty years until his death, when the *rovidence Gazette* described him as an "honour to the country at gave him birth." John Dorrance of Irish parentage was private tutor, a patriot, and a representative in the legis- ture. The Dorrances became a large and noted family, termingled with Joneses, Doyles, and Dorrs, thus furnishing e state with teachers, politicians, and business leaders in a ter period. Terrence O'Reilly kept a school for a number years in the revolutionary era.[9] About this time Henry erling, an Irish physician, was practising medicine—a real ntribution in a region where formally trained physicians ere so rare as to be virtually unknown.[10].

The College of Rhode Island (later Brown University) Providence had its Irish chapter, at least a first chapter. s first president (1765), James Manning, the son of a small rmer of Elizabethtown, New Jersey, and a graduate from e College of New Jersey, a citadel of Irish Presbyterianism, as probably of Irish descent though a Baptist in religious rsuasion. A stout promoter of the college was Morgan dwards, who was born in Monmouthshire, educated in a aptist seminary in Bristol, and ordained in Cork, where he

preached several years (1750-59) and married a wife befo emigrating to America in 1761. Sent to Great Britain an Ireland to collect for the impoverished foundation, he obtaine over two hundred pounds sterling from personal friend some of whom bore characteristically Catholic names, and fro dissenting congregations in a score of centres from Cork t Coleraine. No doubt he urged that his fellow America colonists who traced their beginnings to Ireland would profi in education and democratic godliness from this collegiat establishment, and it would be reasonable to suppose tha his visit, especially in the towns of Ulster, encouraged som emigration to Rhode Island.[11]

At Newport[12] a daughter of Attorney-General William married Timothy McCarthy, by whom she had a large famil whose male descendants remained McCarthys, bearing th name in some form although they lost all contacts with th faith of their fathers. Mary Persley of Kildare laboured wit Ann Payton as a Quaker "minister" about 1753. McGe a baker, failed in 1767—failure and law suits being rather to common in Rhode Island, according to McSparran's obser vations, for an honest people. John Robinson, a recen arrival, married into the Stiles family; Richard Field, a nativ of Dublin, died in 1769 after a long residence; John Dillo came from County Roscommon; Edward Keeney left a estate to be probated in 1772; Gilbert Eames of Limeric died in 1783; Benjamin Delaney was employed by the tow as a teacher in 1743; and Terrence Donnelly, an arrival i 1751, taught school and soon established a successful academy Nearby at Bowen's Hill, Masters Crocker and Knox wer known as strict Irish disciplinarians to the pupils of post Revolutionary years. Items of this sort could be extende without exhausting references, especially if the Congregationa and Trinity Episcopal Church records were combed for Iris names. Henry Goldsmith, a recent arrival from County Westmeath, married in 1779 and was said to have fourtee children.

It was near Newport, at which he preached on Sundays that George Berkeley settled on his Whitehall Farm durin

ief sojourn in America (1728-1731).[13] Here he was welcomed a number of natives of Ireland, including members of the Courcey family, one of whom, Thomas de Courcey, after vice as an officer on Admiral Vernon's flagship in West ian campaign returned to Ireland where he succeeded to title of Baron of Kinsale.[14] A product of Kilkenny College l of Trinity College, Dublin, a traveller and tutor on the ntinent, the wealthy occupant of the deanship of Derry, ich was no mean sinecure, the associate of Swift, Steele, dison, and Pope, the son-in-law of Judge Forster (one time eaker of the Irish House of Commons), author of numerous ays and of mathematical and philosophical studies, and a ıtious rationalist, Berkeley was the greatest scholar in the ony. His influence, if somewhat intangible, was neverthe- s remarkable and permanent. On the failure of his cherished oject of establishing an Anglican college in Bermuda, rkeley returned to Ireland where he was rewarded with e bishopric of Cloyne as rich in revenues and tithes as it s impoverished in communicants. The organ which he nt to the Episcopalian church in Newport was doubtlessly e first instrument of its kind in Rhode Island. He left a re collection of books to Yale College as well as his farm for e partial endowment of three scholarships in perpetuity d a classical library to Harvard College, of which he had less pe of its turning to Episcopacy. His name is perpetuated the Berkeley Divinity School of Hartford. Merely a visitor Harvard College, he was an inspiration to the later founders King's College (Columbia) and of the College of Philadelphia ; d he is believed to have exerted an influence upon the ilosophical thought of Jonathan Edwards. A tolerant man, rkeley urged his co-religionists in Rhode Island to main- n better relations with their non-conformist neighbours, d he answered the fears of some religious planters concerning e baptism of negroes by procuring from his majesty's torney and solicitor-general " an opinion in favour of the ception of negroes in the Church and had it distributed roughout the plantations." Assuredly his residence in ıode Island made that plantation better known in Ireland

and may account for the migration of some Irishmen to th colony. Indeed, "it is worth while pointing out that not few of the clergy in America were Irish," whether Berkele was in any way responsible or not.[15]

The Reverend Arthur Brown (d. 1773), a native Drogheda, a graduate of Trinity College, and a minister of th Church of Ireland, arrived in Rhode Island in 1729, but soo removed to a pastorate at Kittery, Maine, on the invitatio of Governor Dunbar, and later to Piscataqua, New Hamp shire.[16] His son Marmaduke Brown (d. 1771), a classic scholar educated at Trinity College, Dublin, presided ove the Episcopalian Church in Newport, established an ephemera school for negroes (1763) concerning which little is known assisted in the formation of the college at Providence, an kept in close correspondence with Ireland. A daughte Jane, married Samuel Livermore, a lawyer of Londonderry New Hampshire, who was a Revolutionary patriot, a membe of Congress, a chief justice of the state Supreme Court, an an United States Senator. A grandson, Arthur Brown (1731-1805), a native of Rhode Island, matriculated at Trinit College, Dublin, as the Anglicans had not been permitte to found a college in New England, and as a fellow and professor of Greek in his alma mater attained a distinguishe reputation for scholarship and political service, which hi correspondent, President Ezra Stiles of Yale College, followe with friendly interest. He represented this Elizabetha foundation in the Irish Parliament, commanded the Colleg corps against the French at Bantry Bay, and won Englis honours by supporting the Act of Union.[17] Some year before his death, in giving some good advice to emigrants, h explained the attitude of New England toward Ireland an the Irish people :—

> In truth tho' the kingdom of Ireland was respected in America its sons who went out there at that time were in general disesteem being for the most part of a very inferior class, and who brought reall a stigma on the name of this country. An Irishman and an outcas were almost synonymous, but since the war the alteration has bee great, and the name respected as it ought to be; there was befor scarcely any principal family with an Irish name. The principa

ilies in New England were naturally the descendants of the first lers in the reign of Charles the First, who were naturally people good repute, and chiefly from the disaffected counties of Suffolk Essex. Saltonstall, Winthrop, Coggeshall, Livermore, Ellery, h, Malbone, Vassall, with ten thousand others quite foreign to and, were the species of names usual in that country. There were oubtedly many individuals, gentlemen from Ireland, of great ectability and to some America was greatly indebted as to General ntgomery and to General Sullivan. I am interested in supporting t position, since my own ancestor, a clergyman and native of Ireland, led there about seventy years ago, after his degree in the University Dublin, and therefore cannot mean disrespect to Ireland ; but on whole the name was not then in America respected.[18]

Reverend James McSparran (1680-1757) was a notable ure in Narragansett (Kingstown) where he was rector St. Paul's Church for thirty-five years.[19] A native of ngiven in County Derry, McSparran as a Presbyterian was mpelled to go to the University of Glasgow for his education. a divine he immigrated to America, from whence he was actically driven by bigoted Dr. Mather from the town of istol and from Independency to England and to Episcopacy. e charges against him were no less than fornification and forgery of his credentials. Yet such allegations must t be taken too seriously when from the pen of a rival minister. any rate, he re-appeared in Rhode Island as an Anglican tor, and in after years he was honoured with a doctorate divinity from Oxford University. Incidentally, his brother, chibald, with his family settled at Newcastle, Delaware. cognized as a scholar, a Gaelic speaker who could appeal the "mere Irish" who arrived, a courageous friend of gro slaves, and a tutor of President Thomas Clap of Yale llege, McSparran gained some renown by publishing *America ssected : Being a Full and True Account of the American lonies* (Dublin, 1753), a collection of his letters to friends Ireland, which proved a valuable source of American infor- tion for his British audience. President Ezra Stiles neither ed the book nor its author, whom he wrote down as a "vain- rious, turbulent, haughty, domineering priest." In recent ars, McSparran's long lost manuscript, *A Letter Book and stract of our Services*, has been published as a valuable

diary of the period from 1743 to 1751.[20] Interested in bot colonization and in trade, he grieved that Ireland was not liberty " to ship us their Woollens which we shall always wan instead of her Linens which will soon cease to be in demar here."[21] It was then anticipated that the Ulsterite immigran would be successful in the establishment of linen manufacture which would end the Irish market in America.

In the smaller towns, other than Providence and Newpor Irishmen were not unknown. In Barrington, Matthew Watso came with other members of his family from Coleraine (171 and married his master's daughter despite parental objection A good Calvinist, he grew rich in brickyards and in respectab descendants who probably viewed later Irish immigrants wit hostile disparagement.[22] Among his neighbours, there wer Kellys. At Smithfield, Adam Harkness of Belfast settle about 1730—a name terrifying to later generations of scho boys through his descendant, Albert Harkness, a classica scholar and the compiler of Latin school-books.[23] Constantin Maguire of Fermanagh came to Warwick and East Greenwic about 1760. There were the Mitchells on Block Island. I Bristol there were Carys and Phillipses, and there was Jame Carroll (d. 1763), late of His Majesty's Army. William Wels (1700-1786) was thriving at Charleston.[24] At Pawtucke John and Samuel Healy were teachers; after the Revolutio Master Slattery, " a man of extensive learning " and som brogue, was teaching at Westerly; Master Kelly taught thre or four generations of children of South Kingston. Amon Kelly's pupils was Commodore Oliver H. Perry whose fathe a revolutionary privateersman, had served eighteen month in a British prison in Ireland and whose mother, Sara Alexander, was a native of Newry.[25] John O'Kelly on th eve of the Revolution was said to be the first Irishman i Warren—almost the equivalent of saying that he was the firs known Catholic; and true to his blood, he fought in th patriotic forces. A more renowned namesake was the Re Erasmus Kelly, a wandering Baptist preacher in Rhode Islan Connecticut, and Pennsylvania.[26]

Among the officers and sailors on local privateering shi

King George's War there were a number of Irish names ording to a recent study: Burke, Boyd, Griffin, Cunning-n, McCarthy, Reardon, Murphy and the like.[27] Similar lies would probably indicate an increasing number of hmen on privateers during the French and Indian and the volutionary Wars. In the French and Indian War, John novan, a commander of a merchantman, was killed; Daniel n was a lieutenant of militia; William Sheehan was a lier; and Dennis McCarthy of Warren and Dennis Mac thy of Bristol (presumably different persons) were killed.[28] At the end of the French and Indian War (Seven Years' r) the number of Irish arrivals increased slightly, even ugh Rhode Island had no land to appease the land-hunger immigrants as did other colonies with a wild hinterland. e *Providence Gazette* in fostering a programme of domestic nufactures (1768), invited tradesmen to "transport themves from Great Britain or Ireland into these delightful onies quite removed out of the paw of oppression." And historian of the Catholic diocese of Providence maintained t this invitation to linen and woollen workers probably e results: "The increasing number of Irish names which pear from this time on, in the newspapers and records of day, show that this invitation was not unheeded."[29] general the new arrivals were from the North of Ireland. ere are references to Irish shippers; Captain John Murphy's *lly* traded with Ireland and returned with immigrants; ptains John Casey, John Heffernan, William Malone, Mellaly, d James Bourk were masters of merchantmen who turned preying on the British enemy during the Revolution. ck and Stewart, an Irish commercial house in Providence, gaged in shipping flaxseed to Ulster and in the importation provisions and some indentured servants. Patrick Mackey, o came *via* Philadelphia (1768), seems to have confined business more to the coastal and West Indian trade. In 72 at least one ship arrived from Waterford, which was eady a thriving port for traders and fishermen in the Newndland trade. On the eve of the Revolution some fifteen sels were engaged at least intermittently in the Irish de.[30] Nor was this trade all with Ulster ports, for it must be

remembered that Dublin was the brokerage centre for lin and Cork for the butter business. Rhode Island, with i fifty thousand white settlers in 1774, was no longer a stran place to Irishmen as an export market for men and goods.

NOTES

[1] See the authoritative essay on Rhode Island in C. M. Andrews, *Our Earliest Colon Settlements* (1933), 87 f. and Emily Easton's *Roger Williams, Prophet and Pioneer* (193

[2] Austin Dowling (later Archbishop of St. Paul) " Diocese of Providence " in Willi Byrne (ed.), *History of the Catholic Church in the New England States*, 1 (1899)353 ; *Jour of the American Irish Historical Society* (*J.A.I.*) 4(1904)56f., 109f. 5(1905)92f. ; John Crimmins, *Irish American Historical Miscellany* (1905) 24, 411 ; Macarte's will (1682) *Narrangansett Historical Register*, 9(1891)198f. ; J. O. Austin, *Geneological Dictionary Rhode Island, comprising three generations of settlers who came before* 1690 (Albany, 18 notes a few Irish and Anglo-Irish names (Collins, Cottrell, Griffin, Daily, Dunn, Smith a Mitchell) 51, 57, 62, 68, 89, 133, 184 ; J. R. Bartlett (ed.), *Records of the Colony of R. and Providence Plantations in New England* Vols. 1–3 (1856-58) for lists of men who w " made freemen," that is voters.

[3] S. G. Arnold, *History of the State of Rhode Island* (1858)490 ; Richard M. Bayl *History of Newport County, R.I.* (1888)525.

[4] Bartlett, *Records*, 3 : 452.

[5] Andrews, *op. cit.*, 110 ; Byrne, *op. cit.*, I, 354.

[6] See lists of names in Vols. 5, 6 and 7 of the *Rhode Island Historical Magazine*.

[7] *Magnalia Christi Americana*, Book 7, 20f.

[8] *J. A. I.*, 2(1899)180f., 4 : 61, 5 : 89f., 107, 7, (1907)33 ; Crimmins, *op. cit.*, 47 *Dictionary of American Biography* (*D. A. B.*), 3(1929)128, 141, 146, 148.

[9] R. J. Purcell, " Rhode Island's Early Schools and Irish Teachers " in *Catholic Edu tional Review*, Sept., 1934.

[10] *J. A. I.*, 4 : 69.

[11] R. A. Guild, *History of Brown University*, (1867) 11, 19f., 85, 154f., and *Bro University and Manning* (1896) 167f., 221f ; G. S. Kimball, *Pictures of Rhode Island the Past*, (1900) 66f.

[12] *J. A. I.* 4 : 127, 5, : 89f., 101f., 18(1919)149.

[13] *Dictionary of National Biography*, 4(1930)348f. ; Paul Munroe (ed.) *Cyclopedia Education*, 1(1911)365 ; *National Cyclopedia* 6(1929)255f. ; Benjamin Rand, *Berkele American Sojourn* (1932) ; J. M. Hone and M. M. Rossi, *Bishop Berkely* (1932) ; seve references in F. B. Dexter (ed.), *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles* 1(1901).

[14] *J. A. I.* 4 : 127, 5 : 103.

[15] R. H. Murray, *Dublin University and the New World* (1921)89.

[16] Daniel Goodwin (ed.) *MacSparran's Letter Book* (1899)165 ; Edward Peters *History of Rhode Island* (1853) 183f. ; *Rhode Island Historical Magazine* 6(Jan., 18 161f. ; Stiles, *Literary Diary* I, 35, 95f., 179, 294, 388, III, 390, 501.

[17] Murray, *op. cit.*, 90.

[18] From his *Miscellaneous Sketches* (London, 1798) as quoted with editorial notes the *R. I. Historical Mag.* 6(Jan., 1886)162f.

[19] Hone and Rossi, *op. cit.*, 145 ; *R. I. Historical Society*, 7(1899)247 ; *Appleto Cyclopedia of American Biography ; D. N. B.*, 35(1893)284 ; Wilkins Updike, *History the Episcopal Church in Narrangansett* (1847) ; Stiles, *Literary Diary*, I, 78, 358f.

[20] Edited by Rev. Daniel Goodwin and printed by Daniel Berkeley Updike in 1899

[21] G. S. Kimball, *op. cit.*, 53.

[22] *New England Geneological and Historical Register*, 48(1894)443 ; Crimmins, *op. c* 478 ; *J. A. I.*, 3 : 130f.

[23] *D. A. B.*, 8(1932)80

[24] *J. A. I.*, 4 : 60, 126, 5 : 89f. ; Crimmins, *op. cit.*, 385.

[25] Narragansett Historical Register, 1(1882)227 ; A. S. Mackenzie, *The Life of Co modore Oliver Hazard Perry*, 1(1843) 18f., 25.

[26] See references in Stiles, *Literary Diary*. When associated with the College Philadelphia, he was given a master's degree by Brown. R. A. Guild, *Brown Univers and Manning* (1896)189. Note of his death in Newport, *Boston Magazine* 1(1784)62

[27] Harold M. Chapin, *Rhode Island Privateers in King George's War* (1926).

[28] *J. A. I.*, 5 : 89f., 102, 6 : 59f., 17(1918)158.

[29] Byrne, *op. cit.*, I, 357.

[30] Peterson, *Rhode Island*, 241 ; Crimmins, *op. cit.*, 426 ; *Newport Mercury*, June 1772, July 19, 1773.

THE FAITH IN THE SOUTH SEAS

BY STEPHEN J. BROWN, S.J.

Part II*

T once the darkest and the brightest page—the brightest
just because the darkest—in the epic of the Catholic
sions in the South Seas is the story of the first mission
the Solomon Islands.

The history of Christianity in the Solomons goes back
re than three hundred and fifty years. It was on November
1567, that their first European explorer, the young Alvaro
Mendaña, set sail from Callao in Peru with two ships
l 150 men. After three weary months of sailing westward
r a seemingly boundless sea, land was sighted on February
1568. The land was one of a group of islands, which
ndaña later named the Islands of Solomon. The crews
oned the *Te Deum*, the first Christian song to break the
nce of the Southern Seas. These Spaniards were adven-
ers. Like all adventurers, like the other conquistadores,
y sought adventure for the love of it—and also gold and
glory of Spain. But, like most of the Spanish adventurers,
y had other aims as well. "Their great wish," wrote
narrator of the expedition, "was to spread the light
the Gospel in these new countries, to convert all these
thens to the true faith." The doings of Mendaña and
men during their short stay of a few months bears out
s statement. They had four Franciscans on board and
y, at all events, sought neither gold nor glory. As the
pedition had set out on the feast of St. Isabella, they called
first land by her name, and Isabel it is even to this day.[1]
nding on the island, they set up a great cross. Mass was
d, and the officers and sailors communicated. This was

* For Part I and list of books reviewed see March issue.

[1] Elsewhere in the group we find names such as Port Cruz, San Juan, Santa Ana, the
our of the Ascension, of the Visitation of Our Lady, and so on.

repeated at other places in the group of islands. Attem were made to open up friendly relations with the nati with a view to their conversion, and Mendaña himself turn catechist. But the savage islanders were suspicious and oft hostile. A landing party of ten sailors sent to fetch fre water was set upon and massacred. Reprisals follow It soon became evident that nothing could be done. on August 11th, Mendaña sailed away, taking with him fo natives, who on arrival in Peru were baptised. These w the first Christians of the Solomon Islands.

They were also the last for nearly three hundred yea It was not till 1845 that a new missionary expedition, havi on board the young Bishop John Baptist Epalle, S.M., wi seven missionary priests and six laybrothers, arrived the coast of these sinister islands. The Bishop with t Fathers, a Brother, and some sailors went on shore. Hard had they landed when they were set upon by the nativ Bishop Epalle was mortally wounded; the rest, wound and bruised, managed to reach their boats with the dyi missionary. It was a tragedy. But they had no thoug of abandoning their mission. They landed on another islan San Cristoval, built a hut and made friendly advances the natives. From the first they were met with alterna friendliness and sullen hostility. Fever made its appearan at once, and before long the health and strength of the missio aries was sapped. In April, 1847, Father Crey died. A litt later Fathers Jacquet and Paget and Brother Hyacint while passing through a village in the forest, were attack and massacred. Attempts were made to waylay the su vivors, and their huts were set on fire. They lived in consta fear. The new Vicar Apostolic, Bishop Collomb, arriv in August, but finding how matters stood, decided to wit draw his missionaries to an island, Woodlark, lying to t west. Four months later he was dead, soon followed to t grave by Father Villier. At last the Superior General the Marists deemed it his duty to put an end to this loss valuable lives at a time when other fields were calling f labourers.

The Holy See entrusted the mission to the Foreign Mission-
Society of Milan. For four years these missionaries
oured. Many were stricken down with fever. Father
zzuconi was killed by the natives on Woodlark Island.
hopeless task had at length to be abandoned.

It was not till 1898 that a fresh attempt, this time with
cess, was made. The Marist Fathers have been working
this difficult mission for over thirty years. There have
n no more martyrs. But there have been poverty, suffering,
kness, failure, and early death—martyrdom enough we
ght well say. Of twenty-seven priests who worked there
ween 1898 and 1927 seven died of fever, and of these six
re in their early thirties. Of seventeen sisters five died
te young.

The Solomon Islands are now divided into two vicariates,
North Solomons (chiefly Bougainville and Choiseul Islands)
l the South Solomons. Of the latter we have an interesting
ount from the pen of its present Vicar Apostolic, Bishop
ucaz, S.M.[1] It comprises five tropical islands averaging
to 120 miles in length by 15 to 20 in breadth, together
h many smaller islands. They are stretched out over a
tance of some 870 nautical miles. The population numbers
out 100,000 and is of Melanesian race. The grade of civilisa-
n is primitive, or rather debased. When the missionaries
t arrived, they found cannibalism prevailing everywhere:
has not yet died out in Malaita.[2] Polygamy, infanticide,
l tribal wars reigned everywhere.

Naturally the beginnings were difficult and progress
s slow. Protestant missionaries had already arrived and
l established themselves in many places in the islands.
r the first five years results were almost nil, and by a curious
mbination of circumstances the first neophytes were baptized
t by the missionaries but by no less a person than Cardinal
trick Francis Moran, Archbishop of Sydney.

The mission followed the unusual but well-considered
urse of acquiring a small uninhabited island, Rua Sura,

[1] *In the Savage South Solomons* (Dublin: Gill, 1928).
[2] Raucaz, op. cit. p. 59 where many gruesome details are given. He describes the
aders as fierce in appearance, brutish in manners, and devoid of pity.

just off the coast and making it their headquarters till it wa no longer needed.[1] From there one station after anothe was founded, first in one island, then in another. Mgr. Raucaz tells the story of each station—a story of trials and trouble of all kinds—shipwrecks, the heartbreaking inconstancy o the early catechumens, the numerous dialects, poverty, an above all the fever. And the results of such hard toil seeme meagre—at Malaita 378 baptisms in fifteen years, at Langa langa 480 in the same period. Yet real and permanent result have been attained ; there are now more than 6,000 Catholic in the South Solomons.[2] "We have gained," says Mg Raucaz, "in quality what we may have lost in quantity [*viz.* by the slowness of conversion]. These free conversion were always sincere, and during our thirty years we hav hardly had a dozen apostates."[3] Some 50,000 pagans remai to be converted ; the Catholic missions have a footing onl on three of the large islands ; the Protestants are numerous active, and provided with material resources far superio to those of the Catholic mission. There are many othe difficulties. Nevertheless the Vicar Apostolic concludes h book on a note of hopefulness.

The remaining missions of the Marist Fathers in Oceani must be spoken of very briefly. In New Caledonia condition were very different from elsewhere. The island was mad a French penal settlement, much as Botany Bay was a English penal settlement. Many of the convicts becam settlers. The Marists had thus a two-fold task : they ha to look after the white colonists and to convert the paga Kanaks. The island is no longer a penal settlement, bu a French colony with 14,000 white inhabitants. The Catholics white and black, number 26,590 out of a total populatio of 53,000. There are 44 Marist Fathers, 36 Marist Brother 37 Marist Sisters, 39 Sisters of St. Joseph of Cluny, and 4 native Sisters.

When the Marist missionaries first came to the Tong

[1] The same course was followed in the mission of the North Solomons. See Darnan Op. cit. p. 125.

[2] In the North Solomons the Catholics number about 16,000 as against 5,227 Protestan and 32,000 Pagans. In 1931 alone the number of conversions was 1,289.

[3] Op. cit. p. 251.

nds in 1842, they found the Wesleyans solidly entrenched
e, thanks in great measure to the redoubtable King George
for forty seven years ruled with the Bible in one hand
the sword (or something equivalent) in the other. The
ant Père Chevron[1] laboured there, through many sufferings
disappointments, from 1842 till his death in 1884. And
in vain : to-day there are a little over 3,000 Catholics.
Protestants number 21,000. Finally there is the story
he Faith in Rotuma, left without priests for fifteen years
evangelised by native catechists,[2] and the strange vicis-
des of the mission in Haapai, which, after years of veritable
rtyrdom, the missionaries were obliged to abandon in
7, only to return for good in 1892.

Exclusive of the Maori missions of New Zealand, the
ist Province of Oceania has, we are told,[3] seven Bishops,
Marist Priests, 65 teaching Marist Brothers, 16 Laybrothers,
European Sisters, 10 native Priests, 28 native Brothers,
782 native Sisters. The Catholics numbered about 86,928
1932 ; they may be 90,000 to-day.

As to the rest of Oceania it is not easy to give general
istics, but some of the available figures are of considerable
rest. In the large island of Guam, which is owned by
United States but evangelized by the Capuchin Fathers,
of a total population of 18,392 the Catholics number
02. In Hawaii (Sandwich Islands), also under the United
tes, there are 116,000 Catholics (a third of the population),
of these only 10,000 appear to be natives.[4] In Tahiti
ciety Islands) less than 5,000 pagans are left ; but Catholics,
ugh the islands belong to France, number only 8,000
compared with 19,000 Protestants. The Spanish Jesuits
e made 20,000 converts in the Marshall, Caroline, and
ianne Islands. In the Gilbert and Ellice Islands there
some 13,000 Christians converted by the Fathers of the

See *Les Tonga et le P. Chevron* (Lyons : Vitte, 1893). Also the pleasantly written
hes and studies by Soane Malia (native name of Mgr. Blanc) entitled *Chez les*
dionaux du Pacifique (Lyons : Vitte, 1910).
Mangeret, op. cit.
The Marist Missions in the South Seas (Lyons : Vitte, 1932).
Bernard Arens, S J. : *Etat actuel des Missions* (Louvain : Museum Lessianum, 1932),
. Lesourd : *Monde Missionnaire* (Desclée, 1934) gives the number as 13,090.

Sacred Heart (Picpus), who are also at work in the Cook Marquesas, and other groups of Islands.

II

Of the personalities of these Marist pioneers I have hitherto said nothing. Yet striking figures stand out from these narratives and capture the reader's attention. Like a giant among them towers the figure of Bishop Bataillon: his great height, his massive features framed in a patriarchal beard his commanding presence struck the natives with an awe which softened into reverential devotedness when they came to know him. Something regal, imperious perhaps, in his bearing marked him as a ruler of men. It is clear from the narrative that he was feared as well as loved, for fire could flash from those eyes usually so kindly. Utterly tireless himself, impetuous, disdainful of obstacles, he expected from others unsparing labour and unflinching courage. In the pioneer days of the Central Oceania missions he was for forty years the life and soul of all of them. When on his pastoral tours from isle to isle his ship reached a station, the native Christians went wild with joy around their beloved Enosi,[1] and fresh courage and confidence welled up in the missionaries. Many such scenes, of little interest no doubt to the average reader, but memorable in the simple annals of those islands, are described by his biographer.[2]

A French officer of the cruiser *Bucéphale*, in a book of travels published at Algiers in 1884, gives us this picture of the bishop :—

> The *Bucéphale* lay becalmed half a mile off the coast of Wallis. We were about to send a boat ashore when we saw a pirogue coming towards us from the reef. Fathers Bataillon and Viard came aboard. When they appeared on deck, the entire crew was filled with respect and treated them with reverence. Tall, emaciated, their soutane in rags, with bare feet, these two men had a modest and noble bearing which touched our hearts, and yet seamen are not remarkable for sentiment. I have seen in my life-time some great personages, great according to men, of course ; never have I had occasion to see any with such majesty as these.

[1] His native name, formed from his title of Bishop of Enos (in partibus infidelium).
[2] *E.g.* pp. 237 sqq.

Wholly different in character and temperament from shop Bataillon was the gentle ascetic Père Breton, whom gr. Elloy named the hermit of Oceania. He had been a rish priest in the diocese of Belley, then Spiritual Director a college. But the missions called, and he began life again forty-two. In 1863 Bishop Bataillon landed him at Vavau the Friendly Islands, and there he stayed alone till his ath in 1880. It was a life like that of the Fathers of the esert. He lived on fruit and ship's biscuit, slept, when slept at all, on boards, and spent long vigils in prayer. is humility was almost excessive, his charity boundless. ut his labour seemed to be in vain : there was scarcely any arvest of souls. " I am," he wrote, " where God has placed e by the will of my bishop; I shall stay here quite willingly ll my death, teaching my little class of native children to now and love God. I accomplish very little ; but, if I suffer atiently and for the glory of God and of our Mother, I trust at my stay here will not have been useless." It was not; -day there are but 300 Christians on Vavau, but at all vents they are surely due to him.

Among other figures that stand out is that of Bishop lloy, a full-length biography of whom has been written y one of his brethren.[1] He was a man of tireless activity nd a remarkable organiser, a founder of churches and schools, particular the fine station at Vaea in Samoa. Held in the ghest esteem by all parties in the islands, he played a great le as peacemaker in the civil wars and in defending the eople of Samoa against European aggression.

Nor must we forget the grand old man of New Zealand, rchbishop Redwood, who early in this year at the great ge of 95 went to his reward. English by birth and parentage, was taken at the age of three to New Zealand. Educated artly there and partly in France, he came to Ireland for s university studies. Here he became a Marist and was dained, even teaching for a few years in Dublin and at undalk. And here at the end of his long life he was to return

[1] *Le missionnaire des Samoa, Mgr. L. Elloy, S.M.*, by P. A. Monfat, S.M. (Lyons : te, 1928).

to be present at our Eucharistic Congress in 1932. Appropriately enough it was on St. Patrick's Day, 1874, that he was consecrated Bishop of Wellington. This is not the place to tell the story of that long and fruitful episcopate which went so far to establish the Church firmly in New Zealand and brought him the esteem of all, high and low, in his adopted country.

Besides these there were other remarkable missionaries—Père Chevron, S.M., of Tonga, Bishop Douarre, S.M., of New Caledonia,[1] Damien and the no less wonderful Brother Dutton of Molokai,[2] Mgr. de Lamaze, S.M. of Central Oceania,[3] Padre Julián de Madariaga, S.J., the sailor-missionary of the Marianne Islands, Père Didier, C.SS.R.,[4] and others too.

But perhaps one's deepest tribute of respect goes to those young missionaries who sacrificed all that was dear to them and went forth to the ends of the earth only to die before seeing the fruits of their labours and to be buried in forgotten graves.

III

There are two major problems which the Catholic missionary in heathen lands has almost everywhere to face. One is the problem presented by the rivalry of other Christian bodies. The other is the problem of a native clergy. Both of these emerge at intervals in the course of the books under review. They demand the attention of all who have at heart the future of the Missions.

Regarding the former problem I would call the reader's attention to an able article which appeared in this review in March, 1925. It is entitled "Protestant Activity in China," by A. M. Bourgeois, S.J.: no fair-minded Protestant would cavil at its tone. It is largely a comparison between the Catholic and Protestant missions in China as regards resources, personnel, policy, methods. Accounting for the great activity

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[1] L. Robert: *Mgr. Douarre* (Chartres, 1922) and an older life in two volumes by Père Mayet (Paris, 1879).

[2] *The Samaritans of Molokai*, by C. J. Dutton (N. Y.: Dodd Mead, 1932).

[3] *L'Héritage d'un Evêque d'Océanie* (Toulon, 1921).

[4] *Vie du T. R. P. Didier, C.SS.R., Fondateur des Missions du Pacifique* (Paris: Téqui 1904).

the Protestant missionaries and the extent of their success, '. Bourgeois writes :—

> The Protestants of England and America are scarcely any longer retics in the strict sense of the word—*i.e.* souls in formal revolt ainst the authority of the Church. They belong to the Church of eir country, and they believe honestly (but alas ! wrongly) that eir Church is Christ's Church. Of course such a Church receives it little of the abundant stream of grace received in the Catholic urch, and the effect is seen in the less fruitful return obtained from otestant effort. But granted that their Church is a branch cut f, the fact remains that very many splendid souls in England and merica are Protestant simply because the possibility of being anything se has never entered their minds . . . Does anyone believe that ir Lord refuses them His grace or a share in His Apostolic spirit ? then these souls sacrifice themselves for Him, to whom does the ory of their sacrifice belong ? To heresy and the spirit of revolt ? y no means. It is not the spirit of revolt, unknown to these honest uls, which sends them forth to preach the Gospel in distant lands. is the love of Jesus ; and the love of Jesus is not specifically rotestant: it is Christian.[1]

Protestantism in the South Seas has to a great extent ved down the highly disedifying story of its beginnings in ew Zealand, Tahiti, Hawaii, and Samoa, as we read of them n Marshall's *Christian Missions*.[2] It differs little from Protestantism as we know it in Europe. The missionaries are, and ere from the outset, well installed, living with their families n well-appointed European dwellings. They would seem to e zealous and earnest men, but often so fanatically hostile o the Catholic faith as to use against it without scruple the eapon of misrepresentation and calumny. In the course f these histories of the South Sea Missions the missionaries eem to have seldom enough come in contact with their rotestant rivals. When they did, relations appear to have een not unfriendly. " The white Ministers," remarks Mgr. aucaz in passing, " are usually courteous to us, helpful at

[1] Writing of the same problem, Mgr. Donceré expresses his view in very similar terms. *La Mission Catholique aux Nouvelles Hébrides*, p. 48).

[2] See Marshall : *Christian Missions*, Vol. I, pp. 474-547, where only too ample testimony om non-Catholic sources is adduced. Also two recently published works—*The Letters & ournals of Samuel Marsden* and *Marsden's Lieutenants* (Dunedin : Otago University, 934-5).

times as between man and man."[1] On one occasion the Catholic missionaries in Fiji, stricken down with dysentery, were forced to have recourse for medical treatment to the Wesleyan Missionaries Calvert and Lyth. Père Bréhéret gratefully records their "accueil excessivement aimable."[2] On another occasion the rôles were reversed. A certain Mr. Vercol of Tanga, a bitter adversary of the Catholic mission, had bound his household by oath never to have recourse in sickness to the Catholic mission. But a day came when he himself was afflicted with a painful illness. Somebody suggested Père Calinon. The Minister in his pain cried out for him. "But, my dear," said his wife, "what about the oath?" Then a happy thought struck her: "We can't go, but you did not take the oath yourself. You can send somebody else instead of us. . ." Somebody else went for Père Calinon, and the patient was soon relieved.[3]

In *Les premiers missionnaires des Samoa*, Père Monfat has a long chapter entitled "Les Protestants." In it he complains of "calomnies de la plus odieuse violence, presque toujours de mauvaise foi," a charge which is possibly excessive, especially in view of the fact that he relies for proof chiefly on two long extracts from the narratives of two French captains. He goes on to say that the Catholic missionaries, once settled among the people, soon lived down these calumnies, such was the contrast presented by their attitude towards the natives and their general way of life with that of their rivals. Much more harmful to the missions than misrepresentation has been the variations of their doctrines. To reduce to a minimum the divergences between the different sects the Protestant missionaries were driven to reducing to a minimum the content of their teaching, just as elsewhere in the missions they have sought to insinuate themselves by imitating or rather mimicking Catholic ceremonial and other practices. But these latter tactics have been adopted chiefly in countries where, unlike the South Sea Islands, Catholicism is firmly established.

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[1] *In the Savage South Solomons*, p. 257.
[2] Mangeret, p. 173.
[3] Mangeret, p. 256.

Very different is the other problem to which I have re-
ed—the problem of a native clergy. It concerns the
es, not the fears, of the future. The chapter dealing with
subject (ch. xiii) in Père Mangeret's life of Bishop Bataillon
very instructive—especially for those who, without any
t hand knowledge of the Missions, form facile judgments
the question. Hardly had Bishop Bataillon completed
conversion of Wallis than he began to consider the
sibility of a native priesthood, and, we may add, hardly
l these Polynesian peoples embraced Christianity than
y burned to carry the Faith to their compatriots in other
nds. As early as 1845 the General of the Marists, Père
in, granted financial provision for the foundation of a
paratory seminary. But the energetic Bishop had begun
hout waiting for an answer : the seminary was established.
1847 Cardinal Lambruschini wrote urging the training
a native clergy. Everything promised well. But scarcely
e of the little seminarists persevered. The two seminaries
Wallis and Futuna were definitely a failure.

Next Bishop Bataillon tried a different plan. He carried
a number of boys to Sydney and set to work to teach
em, far from the temptations of their native islands. It
s done without authorisation from Rome, and Rome had
eanwhile learned, in view of hard facts, to moderate its
thusiasm for a native priesthood. The Bishop decided
go to Rome to plead his cause in person, taking with him
ree young natives of Wallis.[1] But in Europe he found
solution. Undismayed he bought in 1859 a property near
dney. A considerable number of seminarists from Samoa,
nga, Wallis, and Futuna were gathered there. By 1868
became clear that the experiment had failed : in 1871 it
as abandoned and the property was sold. But the old
ishop was still undaunted. In 1874 he began again, this
ne at Lano in Wallis itself : he toiled strenuously six days
the week at the buildings : on January 2, 1877, he blessed

[1] Of the three one gave up his vocation, a second died in Rome, the third was in due
rse ordained, but "went native" on his return and gave much scandal. Two other
tives were sent to the College of Propaganda in 1870. One died and the other had to
sent home.

the foundation stone of the chapel, hoping to be able to confe minor orders in two years time. But that same year Go called him to his reward. His last hours were spent stretche in the open air, watching the progress of his cherished work That work has continued, despite troubles and disappoint ments of many kinds. Up to the present it has produce sixteen native priests. Of the candidates about one out c twenty perseveres. And that is reckoned a good proportion In 1932 nine seminarists were in immediate preparation fo the priesthood, while the preparatory seminary numbere fifty-three.

So far Polynesia is the only region of Oceania, and Lan the only seminary, which has succeeded in training native for the priesthood. Of Samoa Mgr. Darnand writes :[1] " Th great hope of the future lies in the seminary recently founded." The Jesuits have sent a few candidates from the Carolin Islands to the seminary in Manila, and in 1924 the Father of the Sacred Heart of Issoudun opened with six pupils a preparatory seminary in the Gilbert Islands. That is all

" In all this," writes Père Mangeret, " there is no reason for astonishment. In Asia and in Africa the plans for th creation of a native clergy have gone through similar vicissi tudes. Various systems had to be tried before success wa achieved. Seventy years of persevering effort were needed before the seminary of Dakar in French West Africa produce its first twelve priests." We must, of course, bear in mind the fact that there is here question of primitive peoples, no of civilized countries such as China, Indo-China, Japan, and the greater part of India.

Certain it is that one main hope of the Mission lies in it native clergy. But there is another hope which we mus not overlook, though no word has been said of it as yet. I there are ten native priests, there are 182 native nuns. Nee more be said ?[2]

STEPHEN J. BROWN

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[1] *La forêt qui s'illumine*, p. 81.

[2] On the missions of the Fathers of the Sacred Heart (Picpus) see *La Société d Missionnaires du Sacré Cœur dans la Mélanésie et la Micronésie* (Paris, 1897), and boo by Fathers Frézal and Ysendoorn on the Sandwich Islands.

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J.

XXXIV

THE HOLY CROSS

1. Crann torraiḃ croċ an Ċoimḋe
croċ ḃloḋaiḋ gaċ bearna
gur ḟóir lé ḋíon ar nḋaṁna
rnaḋma rioḋ Dé ní ḋearna.

2. Croċ ar buḋ cóir ar n-aire
an ċroċ lér ḟóir a ḟine
lé do ḟaor Dia gaċ duine
laoġ Muire ria do riġe.

3. Crann coiṁḋe do ċrú Éaḃa
crú oiḋre a n-am a ḋála
dá ċloinn do buḋ crann ḋíona
crann ḋíola croinn na cána.

4. Ġuin ḃar ir croiḋe an Ċoimḋeaḋ
a ḟine ir ar do haingeaḋ
do ḃí ran gcroiċ 'n-a connraḋ
curnaḋ ar rgoiṫ ḋtairngeaḋ

5. Ḟulang bear ḟa bearṫ cluiċe
real i ḃreart ċuṁang cloiċe
bioḋḃa Dé ar gcoll a ċluiċe
nír [ṁuiċe] é i gcrann croiċe

6. Croċ lér ḃrir doirrre ar deaṁnaiḃ
do ḃrir don ċroiċre a ċomlaiḋ
ruġ lé dar mbreiṫ ó ar mbioḋḃaiḋ
creiċ ler rioḃlaiġ dé Doṁnaiġ.

7. Ruġaḋ iul duinn naċ díolram
an t-iul do ṁúin an mórċrann
do rgaoil ceo na ré raorċlann
naoṁċrann Dé leo mar lóċrann.

8. Fleaḋ gráṙ ḋá bṙíoġ ḋo beaṙnaḋ
le báṙ an ṙíoġ ḋo ṙoinneaḋ
ḋá ċloinn ḋo b'fhéaṙḋa uṁlaṁ
cungnaṁ cṙoinn ċéaṙḋa an Ċoimḋeaḋ.

9. Aṙ luiḃ ċaḃṙa aṙ mbláṫ buaḋa
gnáṫ gnaḋma gaċa ṙioḋa
ḋion gaċ laoi ḋ'aicme Éaḃa
féala aṙ gcaiṙṫe aṙ nḋlaoi ḋíona.

10. Dá n-áiṙṁeaṙ feaṙṫa an ċṙoinnṙe
áiṙeaṁ buḋ ḋeaċṙa ḋaṁṙa
móṙ bṙeaṙṫ ḋo ċlaṙ ón gcṙannṙa
buḋ gliaṙ oṙmṙa teaċḋ taṙṙṙa.

11. An cṙoc naoṁ cia naċ caḃṙann
Dia leiṙ gaċ n-aon dá n-aḃṙann
bacaḋ ṙí toċḋ na ḋteaḋmann
teaṙmann coṙṙ í aguṙ anmann.

12. Tuile ḋo ċaṙ aṙ gcúlaiḃ
a guiḋe iṙ bliaḋ dá buaḋaiḃ
nó go ḋtí taṙ tuinn mbaoġail
ṙaoṙaiḃ ṙí luing gan luaṁaiṙ.

13. An ċṙoċ naoṁṫa fial ioḋan
cṙoċ ṙaoṙṫa na ngiall gaḃaṙ
mo bṙeiṫ aṙ iṙ ḋí ḋleaġaṙ
beanaḋ ṙí a ġliaṙ ḋom ġalaṙ.

14. Fóiṙ mo ċáṙ a [ċoṙṙ] íoṙa
oṙṫ gomaḋ cáṙ mo ċáṙṙa
dá ċionn ní ċéal ḋo ċlúṙa
féaġ maṙ tú-ṙa i ngioll gnáṙa.

15. Faġ fáilte ḋaṁ ġiḋ ḋoiliġ
faġ fláinte ḋaṁ 'n-a ḋeaġaiḋ
máṙa ḋual íoc taṙ m'fholaiḋ
luaġ ḋo ṁolaiḋ ḋíoṫ ḋleaġaiṙ.

16. Fóiṙ mo ġuaiṙ gaḃ mo ġuiḋe
gan ḋuaiṙ ḋaṁ noċa nḋliġe
fṙíoṫ ḋo [ḃácṙa] uaiṙ oile
gnáṫṙa ṙoiṁe fuaiṙ file.

17. Guidim tú a [fraṁgrian] folur
a bainliaig dán dú deigfior
bean do clú ir cáir do guidear
tú cuirear láiṁ rem leigear.

18. Dearb do buaid a leag lógṁar
dod buaid ca beag do háirṁead
mó ná a nocc mé dod ṁiorbal
gniomrad Dé orc dá n-áirṁear.

19. Fuil a bonn 'r a bor mbairrgeal
a-bor don cronn do cuimlead
mead do clú ir clú nac iongnad
do mionnlad tú a crú an Coimdead.

20. Fuil an rioġ nó gur fromair
a fiol re luid nir leigir
rir don fuil ar ar ibir
dig ṁilir luid mo leigir.

21. Teag aoidead uacdar lámann
na naoiṁfear ruarcglan féiṁfeang
oul dún ir-teag go dtuairear
a nuaiṁionn rúl fear n-Éirean.

22. Teag naoṁ na n-earlán d'feicim
raor gac earlán 'n-a focair
mairg fear don tig nac taitig
teag caitim gac fir otair.

23. Eaglair cearc croice an Coimdead
na bfeart gcloice ir na gcoṁrad
rlóig aingeal ag a hadrad
dainglean anman róiṁ roglan.

24. Róṁrád nac éidear d'ionnlac
na n-éidead n-órrnát n-amlac
ráit geal na ndorur ndealbac
teag leadrac folur ralmac.

25. Ar mionn rúl croc an Coimdead
gac cloc 'n-a múr mar ṁarmar
breit gill do féad an [friodrad]
iongnad linn créad a crannġal.

26. Teaġ lán na léiḃeann nuaġlan
dál fear n-Éireann fan éanḃruġ
ainm Dé do ṁór a ṁíorḃal
fíoḋḃruġ óġ é aġur éarlaṁ.

27. Díon don uile ar ġaċ n-éinċíoċ
a duille aġ díon ġaċ láiṫreaċ
níl fiu mé a cur im ċaoṁṫaċ
naoṁċroċ Dé i mbun a ḃraiṫreaċ.

28. Ar rġáṫ t'fearr a ċroinn ċéarda
trát doḋ ċloinn teaċd dá dtíorda
'n-ar mbun muna bé i dtrárda
grárda Dé aġ dul i ndíorġa.

29. Croċ léir faor fine Ádaiṁ
faon niṁe nó ġur núiḋiḋ
lá na coinne ir cloċ faoḃair
cloċ ṁaolaiḋ doirre an Dúiliṁ.

30. Ar mo ġníoṁ do-ġeaḃ m'fóġra
fleaġ 'n-a díoġ mar an ċéadġa
ġuair naċ bia ann acd m'fóġra
dá dtóġḃa Dia an crann céadna.

31. Noċdar croċ ḋearġ an Dúiliṁ
ġo moċ 'r a fearġ 'r a álaiḋ
doiḃ acd ġo ḃruil aġ féaġain
béaraiḋ tóir ar fuil Ádaiṁ.

32. Díom ar ċomairce an ċroinnre
a ċomairce ar dían damra
dul ran triall a-tá im ċionnra
ionnra an lá ad-ċiam an crannra.

33. Ġearr ġo mbéara breaṫ reaċda
ca breaṫ dá bréaġa ar ḃroiṫa
a-nall ó do-ċí ar ġcionta
tiocfa an rí 'r a ċrann corcra.

34. Craoḃ doraiḋ daṁa ar m'aire
mó coḃair anma uile
biad ón té a-tám do ġuiḋe
rián dá nguiḋe mé Muire.

35. Réir Muire ir dual dá dalta
mo guide uam dá n-obta
fam guair dí ní bu dulta
tuicta duair dí bu docra. Crann

Translation

uitful tree is the Lord's Cross, a Cross that can break through every gap ; it con-
uded no peace with God till He by its means had saved me from damnation.

Cross on which I should meditate is the Cross with which God, Mary's Son, when
tretched on it, saved all His race.

guardian-tree of Eve's race became, when the Son's Blood was shed on it, the
alvation of His race, the Tree which recompensed for the Tree of the Debt.

the wounds in the hands and heart of the Lord His race was saved ; His descending
to hang) upon the points of the three nails was as a covenant made on the Cross.

suffering of the nails' pain and His sojourn in the strait stone tomb was as a con-
est ; God was no sooner on the Cross than His foe had lost that contest.

s was the Cross with which He broke down the doors on the demons ; with this
Cross He broke down our foe's door and took us from him and marched off with us
is His booty on Sunday.

dance precious beyond payment has been given us, the knowledge taught us by
he great Cross ; God's holy Cross as a torch accompanying them has scattered
he mist from around the Six Generations.

the King's death a banquet of graces was spread and shared out to us ; a feast
oyfully given His children was the protection given by His torture-tree.

Cross is our saving herb our flower of blessing, our bond of perfect peace ; it is
daily protection of Eve's race, the seal of our covenant, the roof above us.

d I to tell the miracles of this Cross hard were the reckoning ; I must however
efer to the many wonders told of it.

o is not saved by the holy Cross ? God stands by all who cleave to it ; may it
heck the onset of all afflictions ; it is the sanctuary for bodies and souls.

setting back of the storm-torrent is one of the blessings that come from prayer
o it ; it saves the rudderless vessel till she passes over the dangerous sea.

me embrace the holy generous undefiled Cross, the Cross which frees all bond-
slaves ; its duty is to save me from sickness ; may it loosen the bond of sickness
on me.

uage my plight, O Body of Jesus ; let my care be Thy care ; I will then proclaim
Thy glory ; think how I am in need of grace.

n—hard though it be—a welcome for me ; win salvation too ; if I have to atone
for my sin Thou art bound too to reward my praise of Thee.

ert my danger, accept my prayer ; thou must give me a gift ; this would not be
the first time for Thy peace to be granted, or for a poet to be forgiven.

eseech thee, O bright summer sun, O lady leech surely learned ; wisely have I
prayed to thee, O lady so famous who reachest out thy hand to cure me.

tain is thy power, O precious stone ; when I tell of what God has done upon thee,
how little of it is told ! Greater thy wondrousness than what I tell of it.

h the Blood of His feet and white hands the Cross was anointed ; the weight of
thy glory is surely due thee ; thou wert washed in the Lord's blood.

20. Till thou didst drink of the King's blood thou couldst not cure His race with any
now find in the blood which thou didst drink a sweet draught to cure me.

21. Thou art a guest-house hung round with armlets where dwell the bright comely s
may I merit to enter within thee, O bright fair treasure of the men of Eire.

22. Thou art the holy house for care of sick; saved is every sick man who enters
woe to all who frequent not that house, the house which cares for all sufferers.

23. The true church of the Lord's Cross, with its stone monuments and coffins and
of angels in reverence, is a fort, a sanctuary for souls.

24. A sanctuary inviolable hung with gold variegated tapestry, a bright castle with c
doorways, a house full of books and light and music of psalms.

25. The Lord's Cross is our treasure, every stone of its wall being marble; the wood
has surpassed all others; I marvel at its wood-work.

26. 'Tis a castle with many a fair storey; in it can meet all the men of Eire; its wond
ness has exalted God's glory; 'tis a fairy-like abode of virgins and saints.

27. It protects the world from every shower, its leaves protect all around it; I am
worthy to have beside me this holy Cross of God set to guard His brethren.

28. Trusting in thy power, O torture-tree, 'tis time for thy children to come to t
thou comest to them; if God be not solicitous for me now His grace is e
uselessly away.

29. 'Tis the Cross with which God saved Adam's race and built anew the road to He
this Cross which now softens the Creator's wrath will on Doomsday be as a
stone for it.

30. Owing to my sin, driven as the spear of old into His breast, I shall be proclaime
outlaw; yet I may hope that when God removes the spear (my sin) it sh
merely a proclamation (not carried out).

31. God's red Cross and His wrath and His wounds shall soon appear; but if Ad
race have regard for them it (the Cross) will save it.

32. Let me take refuge with the Cross; this shall be my saving; dread the day I
see the Cross, the day I shall face the trial awaiting me.

33. Soon shall He pronounce the legal doom; what shall be my doom if He regard
sins? Seeing our sins the Lord with His red Cross will come upon us.

34. 'Tis a fruitful tree I have been meditating on; it makes surer the soul's salva
if I pray to Mary I shall be saved by her.

35. Even if Thou, O Christ, refusest my request, yet Thou, her Son, must yield to M
prayer for me; when danger threatens me she must not fail; she has a righ
get gifts even harder to get than this.

Notes

(MS.: H 3 19 f. 29. Readings departed from are given below). No author's n
is given.

2 *d* ꟼúḋe 3 *a* coiṁḋi 4 *a* ċoimḋiġ *c* ꟼa cꟼ.; cunoꟼaḋ *d* cuꟼ
5 *a* cluiċe *c* bioḃa; ꞩcoill *d* muiḋi 6 *c* mbioḃa *d* ꟼiobla 8 *a* beaꟼ
cf. K. M. Contr. *b* ꟼoiġneaḋ *c* uꟼꟼaiṁ 11 *d* hí 12 *a* ꞩculaḋ
ċꟼoċ 15 *a* ꟼaḋ; ꞩe *b* ꟼaḋ *c* taꟼ molaḋ 16 *c* bꟼacꟼa 17 *ab* n
defective. *cd* ꞩuiḋiꟼ! ċuiꟼꟼ 18 *c* a not in *MS.* 19 *d* aꟼ cꟼú
ꟼoṁaiꟼ 21 *a* u. l. *lit.* "tops of gauntlets"? 22 *a* oꟼeiṫeaṁ *c* oṫa
d caṫain 23 *a* ċoimꞩiḋ 24 *a* eiḋiꟼ *b* noꟼnꟼáṫ 25 *a* ċoimꞩiḋ
ꟼioḋḃáḋ 26 *b* euṅḃuḋ 28 *c* aꟼṫáꟼoa 33 *a* mbeaꟼaḋ *b* bꟼé
24 *a* ṫaꟼꟼla *c* bia on ṫe.

REVIEWS

Archaeology

IENT IRELAND. A Study in the Lessons of Archaeology and History. R. A. S. Macalister, Litt.D London: Methuen. 935. pp. xii + 307. 10s. 6d.

not easy to define briefly the character of this work. In contrast same author's *Archaeology of Ireland*, which is from the "museum point," the present work purports to view the material from a re 'anthropological' standpoint." In it, we are told, "an ipt is made to work back, through the artifacts, to the men who them, and to reconstruct the conditions in which they lived." even this, the author's own description, is not satisfactory, for inly less than a third of the whole book can be said to deal with period for which "artifacts" provide the chief evidence. In a ral way it may be said that the author's chief concern is to portray conditions and mode of life down to a date which it is quite ssible to define. It might be the eighth or the eighteenth century, ndeed for that matter the twentieth.

The book throughout is interestingly written and, as we might ct, contains much useful archaeological material, which is presented n original and striking manner. The descriptions of the archaeo- al remains of the early periods, the treatment of the art of the Christian epoch, especially the survey of the illuminated MSS., particularly instructive. In general it may be said that those s of the book in which the author is dealing with the concrete cts of Archaeology, have much that will be found useful both to student and the ordinary reader. The book has nevertheless a ber of serious defects.

Again and again the careful reader will find himself compelled to tion the adequateness of many of Dr. Macalister's proofs and the ulness of much of the speculation in which he indulges. In many es the author speaks trenchantly of unscientific work. In the oduction he describes this book as "a virile application of Science he study of Ancient Ireland." The work done in Archaeology in pre-scientific days" in Ireland is spoken of as "a mass of rubbish." ancey "*more suo* wastes much space with speculation"; his *ctanea* is characterised as fantastic (p. 38). We read of the "weird mland delirium" of the ancient Irish historians (p. 56). Yet n reading *Ancient Ireland* one wonders whether the progress which been made is quite as great as Dr. Macalister would have us believe. ainly the luxuriant speculation of the early chapters of this book not seem to me to differ radically in kind or degree from that allancey, nor indeed in some places from that of the ancient Irish rians. Throughout we are faced with the phenomenon of the

swift evolution of the hypothetical into the absolute, and this through " a virile application of Science " or scientific method, largely through the persuasiveness of rhythmical prose and a v application of the imagination.

In the very first chapter we meet " the demons and hobgobli with whom " we cannot doubt " the imaginations of the earliest sett in Ireland peopled the land (p. 8). But the bare existence of t settlers is deduced from the very scantiest archaeological rema Whence then the certainty ? Later we read : " The coast depo in fact, reveal remains of at least *two* peoples, differing in cult relationship, *differing, we cannot doubt, in language and in religi* strangers and—a natural consequence at their level of civilizatio antagonistic each to the other " (p. 12). On page 104 we fi " Carcases of animals had been burnt in this fire, which was *there* of a sacrificial nature. Hither, then, people came to assemble sacrificial rites, etc." In such cases as these—and the earlier chap abound in similar ones—one is justified in asking by what *scien* method of reasoning is the *certainty* established.[1]

The parallels instituted between the people of ancient Ireland certain primitive peoples of the present day are also logically unsou Take one instance (p. 46). The facts are these. Fact number o certain stones or slabs in Ireland have upon their surface inc scribings—concentric circles and the like. Fact number t Australian aborigines, in association with ceremonial initiation of you into the tribal traditions, make somewhat similar markings on sand. Dr. Macalister concludes that the Irish markings are connected with tribal initiation. The same is true of the *Duk-D* dancers, whose picture graces p. 146 of the book. In both cases facts are indisputable, but in both cases the purely gratuitous assumpt is made that symbols (which of their very nature are arbitrary) h always the same significance. The swastika in Dublin is associa with laundrying. Therefore the Nazi movement is the cult of hygi and Hitler is a soap-and-water god !

The general thesis of this book is that Ireland, owing to the enervat climate (due to the Gulf Stream) and sundry other disabilities for wh " jesting Nature " is responsible, is doomed to perpetual ineffectual and inertia. Dr. Macalister, however, is careful to point out that applies only to Southern Ireland (in its present political sense). north-eastern corner, by the merciful design of the great Architec the Universe, is free from the curse. This thesis is " proved " w a disregard for the facts of Irish history which is decidedly disconcert Dál Riada (incidentally a small state of late *southern* origin), nAraide and Conaille bear simply no comparison with the Eoganac

[1]Here and elsewhere the italics in the quotations from *Ancient Ireland* are mine.

nster and the Uí Briúin in Connacht or the Uí Néill in Leth Cuinn
ally. One might suppose that the author was in a jesting mood
, among the proofs for the greater energy of the north-eastern
r, we are told that "it was the north-eastern quarter that created
reat Dorsey Fort, and the boundary wall called the 'Black Pig's
' . . . . to keep out *southern aggression*"! The next sentence—
was the north-eastern quarter which gave the greatest trouble
ngland"—is one of the many statements in this book for which
would wish to see some proof. The only semblance of proof for
uperior energy of the north-eastern corner is to be found in the
. But it may not be irrelevant to point out that during that
struggle the men of the north-eastern corner were *in a state of*
a (was it perhaps due to the climate ?), while the man who fought
battles was one of the inert *Southerners*, who had to struggle
st "the unconquerable demons of lassitude and *laisser-faire*."
he value of Dr. Macalister's book is further diminished by the
or's predilection for fantastic explanations of simple facts. An
ple is his treatment of the large hollowed-out canoes, which are
icuous objects in the Museum collection. It is urged that they
not ordinary boats, but rather carnival ships connected with
ity cults. What is said on p. 116 to the effect that one of these
ich there were found drilled holes "could never have been floated
ny length of time" is pure nonsense. Is the possibility that the
may not have been there always too simple to be considered ?
argument from the supposed "full complement" of the crews
ese boats is equally illogical.

he incident in the *Táin* of the taking away by women dressed
een of the body of the slain Fraech is "evidently one of the
ional apparitions of the ancient corn spirits" (p. 143). In
ibing the bull of Cuailnge the old Irish writer says (according to
Macalister) that "fifty youths would play *draughts or leap-frog*
s back" (p. 147). On referring to the Irish text we find that they
simply that the youths were "playing" (oc cluchiu LU. 5331 ;
luithiu YBL. 855 ; ic clessaib cluchi LL. Windisch 1533). The
er information about draughts and leap-frog is, we presume,
ced from artifacts of the period by "a virile application of
ce." We note only that, to anyone familiar with old Irish literature,
xpression is a very characteristic description by way of exaggeration.
Dr. Macalister tells us that "this represents a misunderstanding
e part of the literary story-teller, or of some gloss-writing wiseacre,
the fashion of his kind. The painted walls of the palace of Minos
le us to correct him. These 'fifty youths' were bull-fighters
(p. 147). On the strength of this evidence alone we are told that
"is a precious record which tells us that here in Ireland also
nonial bull-fights took place periodically."

X

The names Friuch(t) and Riucht,[1] which occur in an old Irish t
" are suggestive of Dioscuric worship " (p. 134). The same is t
of course of Jack and Jill. The holly-stakes used by Nath-Cran
against Cú Chulaind are magical, though the suppression of that
also is due to the stupid story-teller who is guilty of " misunderstand
the original tradition " (p. 149). In the same way the grass used
Cú Chulaind for his artificial beard is " bewitched grass," though
fact too escaped the notice of the old Irish story-teller (p. 151).
those last two instances, especially, the " magical " explanation
not only unnecessary and unwarranted, but goes directly contr
to the sense of the story.

A final example of the author's predilection for fantastic explanati
may be given. In speaking (p. 76) of the absence of the sound P am
a branch of the Celtic-speaking peoples, he says : " Possibly
prehistoric people, among whom these languages first began to devel
mutilated their teeth (like the Aboriginal Australians) or their
(like the Botocudos) in such a way as to render difficult or impos
the pronunciation of a voiceless labial sound." This suggestion i
absurd as it is unnecessary, and it appears to ignore the whole nat
of language and linguistic mutation.

Dr. Macalister's excursions into the domain of Irish philology
linguistics are not always happy. On p. 127 it is stated of the *T*
that " for philological reasons we cannot date its text to a cent
earlier than about the sixth." What philological reasons would jus
its ascription to the *sixth* century ? The suggested philological relat
of Fomorian to Pomerania and of Heremon to Herrman
83) is simply crude *Volksetymologie*. The respective consonan
and vocalic developments of the Celtic and Teutonic langua
are simply not taken into account. With reference to
name *Táin bó Cuailnge*, Dr. Macalister is careful to point out that
animal in question is not a cow (*bó*) but a bull (*tarb*). He conce
graciously that " the slight solecism is of no importance " (p. 1
But there is no solecism. The word *bó* was, of course, underst
as genitive plural. The stereotyped character of the phrase wo
account for the absence of following nasalisation. Old Irish writ
refer to " *tain na mbo a cuailngne*." (Cf. *Táin Bó Fraich*, ed. By
and Dillon 348, 364, 431 and *Rev. Celt.* III. 347). The old I
name Medb, we are told, " should be pronounced something
' my-eye-w', in one syllable "—or perhaps *mee-ow* in two ?
-a- in *Laeg* may, by a convention favoured by some Irish scholars,
marked with an accent. But it is not, as is stated in a footnote

[1] The names are properly Friuch and Rucht, as established by the MSS. T
is no authority for the final—(t) in the first or the -i- in the second name. Cf *Ir. Tex*
pt. 1. p. 235.

39, *a long vowel.* The etymology of the word Fál (p. 113) ignores fact that the -a- is long. Moreover no attempt is made to explain , if the suggested etymology is correct, the word could, as a onification of Ireland, be so ancient and widespread, and occur her in many place-names.

It is regrettable that the author's "virile application of Science he study of Ancient Ireland" should be so aggressively directed ards discrediting the subject of his study. This is obvious throughout whole book, and in some cases painfully so. Indeed at times it led the author to make statements which are not calculated to ance his reputation as a scholar. On page 51 we read: "It is re than likely that most of what is good in the mixed strains that occupy both countries (*i.e.* Great Britain and Ireland) is a Pictish itage: that most of the faults are due to the Celtic intrusion." en one considers the "melting-pot" character of our knowledge he races of ancient Ireland and of the Picts in particular, and of ethnology of the people generally, this statement can only be to be reckless and uncritical. The sentences which immediately ow it are not evidence, but a perversion of evidence.

The account of land-tenure in ancient Ireland (p. 93) is little short a caricature, and the facile identification of that system with ndlordism" may have value as propaganda, but it has none as olarship. The phrase "Ibi episcopus, Dei gratia inebriatus" occurs an old life of St. Brigid. In adducing evidence for the prevalence drunkenness in ancient Ireland, Dr. Macalister argues that this phrase uld be translated literally by "Bishop (Mél), *by the grace of God g drunken.*"; and even if it be understood metaphorically, we are rmed that such a metaphor could only be used in a country where stigma attached to drunkenness (p. 129). This is not only very bad e; it is also extremely bad scholarship. The metaphorical use of *briatus, ebrius* etc. is as old as classical Latin, and is besides a monplace of medieval devotional literature. (Cf. St. Augustine. in Gen. cxliv). In Horace (Carm. I, 37, 12) we read "*regina . . . fortunaque dulci ebria.*" Were Dr. Macalister to render this "the queen being fortunately in a state of intoxication" he would ir the just ridicule of classical scholars.

In the Introduction to this book Dr. Macalister stresses the fact t he has gone for his information to original sources. But en, as is often the case, the original sources are highly imaginative fantastic tales, one expects some critical faculty to be exercised heir regard. Had the author read the Irish text carefully and ically, we should have been spared the "flash of lurid light upon contemporary theory and practice of sanitation" afforded by an dent in *Fled Bricrend* (p. 157). The texts say "isin otruch (chaca)

for lar ind lis *eter na conaib.*" The "lurid light" then reveals nothing b the fact that dog-kennels in ancient Ireland were not noticeably clean than they now are. If one were to draw inferences from Dr. Macalister statements that there was little agriculture in Ireland in ancient tim and that the people were essentially meat-eaters (p. 99), one could n avoid the conclusion that the author's reading in the ancient literatu has not been as extensive as one might wish. The unfavourab comparison instituted (p. 207) between the aesthetic appreciation Giraldus Cambrensis for the lost Book of Kildare and the philistinis of "the people of Ireland" who "allowed the Kells book to lie o for the better part of three months under their rainy skies, with better protection than a sod," is, considering the fact that the Bo of Kells at the time *had been stolen and hidden by the thief*, a compariso which can only be described as both unworthy and unscholarly.

But in his anxiety lest any credit should come to ancient Irelan Dr. Macalister is prepared to go to even further extremes. The excellen of the illuminative work of the old Irish artists is beyond questio But the author is careful to show that such excellence is "absolute compatible with uncivilization, even with barbarity" (p. 19 And lest this should not suffice, we are told that "these namel artists were little more than passive tools, in the hands of the Powe personal and impersonal, by whom the universe is ordered and ruled In the same way "Chartres Cathedral or Westminster Abbey took sha as we know them, it is hardly an exaggeration to say, *independently the volition of their builders* . . . . ." "In the middle of the *squal* of the ninth and tenth centuries a certain man was born . . . . . t 'time-spirit' took him under its omnipotent control: and the Bo of Kells was the result." Comment on such statements is, of cours superfluous.

For want of space much has been omitted from this review. cannot, however, be brought to a close without referring briefly to t pages of this book which treat of St. Patrick (pp. 163-176). It is n obvious why they have been included. The connection with artifac is certainly not manifest. In these pages the author is plainly n at home. Whatever about Dr. Macalister's qualifications as a archaeologist, his qualifications for dealing with admittedly difficu theological matters and questions of ecclesiastical history are, it clear from this chapter, patently inadequate. His theory that S Patrick was consecrated Bishop by direct Divine intervention is manifestly fantastic that it would be waste of time to discuss it. T negative argument (that, having said *reprobatus sum*, the Saint did n say *postea consecratus sum*) is worthless. It could be used with equ force to show that St. Patrick had never been baptized. The expressio "technically irregular" (p. 170), "standards of later ecclesiastic

elopments" (p. 172), the argument from the word *praesbiter* (p. —all reveal the writer's unfamiliarity with the ecclesiastical history he period.

Somewhere in this book Dr. Macalister speaks of an Act for training People from Talking Nonsense. It is a pity that Macalister was not restrained by some such Act from writing ch of what appears in *Ancient Ireland*. FRANCIS SHAW

Biography

E PONTIFICATE OF LEO XIII. By Eduardo Soderini. Translated by Barbara Barclay Carter. Vol. I. London: Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1934. 7s. 6d.

WARDS the end of Leo XIII's long pontificate the author of this graphy, now Senator Soderini, suggested to the Pope that an cial biography would be necessary as a corrective to the legends t had already begun to take form. Leo hesitated at first, and then nted the permission, which carried with it free access to the archives, n the secret archives, of the Vatican. It was a formidable responsi- ty for any Catholic biographer ; and the Pope's personal injunction s uncompromising: "No panegyrics!" The present volume, ich now appears in an English dress, is thus an exceptionally thoritative record of a pontificate which marks a turning-point in history of the modern papacy.

Interest will centre on the first portion of this volume, which tells full the story of the Conclave which resulted in the election of Pope o XIII on February 20th, 1878. Senator Soderini begins his narrative th the last hours of Pio Nono, the prisoner of the Vatican, and then sses immediately to the grave problems which confronted the College Cardinals. Looking back on it all now, it seems hard to believe at a very large majority of the Cardinals were opposed to the holding a Conclave in Rome—or indeed anywhere in Italy. Timid souls d persuaded themselves that the new Italian Government would certain to interfere with the Conclave's freedom of election ; and eir fears were apparently justified by the fact that both the Home cretary and the Minister for Justice of the moment had seven years eviously insisted most vehemently on the right of the Italian Govern- ent to force an entrance into the Vatican at any crisis which might stify such drastic action. Small wonder that the majority of the rdinals were convinced that it would be necessary to leave Rome— en though, as a foreign statesman had reminded them, "departure ises the question of return." The Pope himself had shared their ars ; and Senator Soderini publishes a full summary of the three cret Constitutions in which Pio Nono had sought to guarantee the

succession to the Chair of Peter. How these fears were allayed largely by the skill and cool judgment of Cardinal Di Pietro—mak one of the liveliest stories in Soderini's narrative.

The choice of a successor was less uncertain ; for Pio Nono—wh had a very clear perception of the need of a speedy and prudent electi —had officially authorised the Cardinals to discuss the problem duri his lifetime. Two personalities stood forth as the most probabl Cardinal Bilio, who had played a prominent part in the drafting the Syllabus, and Cardinal Joachim Pecci, who had spent thirty yea of his life as Bishop of Perugia, but whom the Pope had recent summoned to the Vatican to act as his Chamberlain. Cardinal Bil was emphatic in his refusal : he had begged the Cardinals not to ele him, alleging as an excuse the weakness of his own character. No the less, an important minority of the College supported his candidature he, if anyone, it was argued, would carry forward the policy of t late Pope and of Cardinal Antonelli. But the governments of Euro had other views ; and one of the interesting facts revealed in th official biography is the arrival of no less than three Cardinals—fro France, Spain and Hungary—each carrying the veto of his governmer on the election of Cardinal Bilio. These vetoes were never used, f Cardinal Bilio's candidature proved less serious than was expecte But this action of the French and Austrian Emperors and of the Spanis King throws a vivid light on the position of the Holy See at the en of Pio Nono's pontificate. We have travelled far since then.

A steadily increasing majority of votes went to the Cardinal-Bisho of Perugia ; and Senator Soderini, by way of explaining this trend o opinion, skilfully inserts into his narrative of the Conclave a shor sketch of Cardinal Pecci's earlier career. It is no more than a sketch but the author has contrived to suggest even more than he says Joachim Pecci was the son of an Italian Colonel, whose family was o noble rank. From the first he had been set aside for an ecclesiastica career, and he never lost his gratitude to the Jesuit Fathers who taugh him at Viterbo and Rome, and whose influence helped him to gai admittance to the Academia dei Nobili Ecclesiastici. Ordained i 1837, he was given a first opportunity of proving his ability by hi appointment as Apostolic Delegate to Benevento in the followin year. It was a difficult post, for the papal territory of Benevento wa isolated in the midst of Neapolitan territory ; the inhabitants wer eager for fusion with the Neapolitan kingdom ; and Benevento, lik the whole of the neighbouring kingdom, was under the secret terro of the Carbonari. Mgr. Pecci did his best in these difficult circum stances : at first it seemed that he must fail, but his quiet energy and clear policy prevailed. Brigandage was suppressed to every one' amazement ; a customs agreement was negotiated with the Neapolita

mment ; and a series of singularly able reports were sent to Rome. l wonder that in 1843 Mgr. Pecci went to Brussels as Archbishop almatia and Nuncio to the newly-formed Belgian kingdom.

Igr. Pecci's nunciature in Brussels marks a turning-point in his er. The success at Benevento was followed by what was in fact re and definite disgrace. The story is told in full by Senator rini from unpublished documents ; and it is a story well worth ing. The Nuncio's position was made more difficult by the fact his immediate predecessor, Mgr. Fornari (who had been transferred 'aris), had been exceptionally successful and popular in Brussels ; the documents here published show that Mgr. Pecci was already on the way to establish his own position, both at the court and the Belgian hierarchy, when he was recalled in 1846. What ught him down was the determined enmity of the Austrian govern- t. The Belgian Bishops were under suspicion in Vienna as being ready to traffic with democracy. Mgr. Pecci supported them minor incident, which was watched closely by all the resident omats. The Austrian Minister sent a most unfavourable report Vienna ; and Metternich had no hesitation in forwarding his ister's dispatch to the Papal Secretary of State. The result was nediate : Mgr. Pecci was recalled after the briefest possible respite, was appointed Bishop of Perugia, where he was to remain, in tive obscurity, for thirty years. To quote Senator Soderini : he Nuncio had known for some time the intrigues against him; foresaw that the episcopate would be the tomb of his diplomatic eer." And so in fact it proved.

But God's Providence has strange ways of preparing those who e been chosen as His instruments. Perugia had been chosen as hbishop Pecci's tomb ; it proved to be an ideal training-ground the future Pope's social policies. Mgr. Pecci left Brussels for ugia in the spring of 1846 ; in the following June Gregory XVI d, and was succeeded by the youthful and enthusiastic Pius IX. tternich's dictum is famous : he had expected everything except a ral Pope. The constitutional reforms which Pio Nono granted ong the first acts of his pontificate affected Perugia with the rest the Papal States. They were speedily followed by a constitution Piedmont, which provoked an occupation of Ferrara by the Austrians 1847. One year more, and we are at 1848—the year in which Pio no blessed the standards of the troops as they marched out against stria (in March), and by the end of April had declared in an Allocution t war with Austria " was wholly abhorrent to his counsels." There owed Metternich's fall in Vienna, the Roman Revolution, Pio no's flight to Caeta, and his reversal of all his previous liberal icies. Cardinal Antonelli becomes his guiding-spirit, and Papal icy loses touch with modern aspirations.

All this Mgr. Pecci watched from Perugia. Senator Soderi
though he skims lightly over the details, makes the future Pop
attitude clear in the midst of all these changes. Leo XIII, so he te
us, held that Pius IX had gone too far in his early liberal policies, b
had also gone too far in the other direction during the later years
his pontificate. Of Cardinal Antonelli we get the following judgmer
"Enough," said Pope Leo at the end of his life (1902) in a priva
conversation with a prelate; "don't let us talk of him (Antonelli
it distresses me too much. I think that had it not been for him, t
Pope to-day would not find himself in such a difficult position
Antonelli's opinion of Cardinal Pecci seems to have been equal
definite. Proposals for a reform of the papal government reache
him from the Bishop of Perugia in 1850: the Cardinal Secretary
State did not even take the trouble to answer the letter.

The thirty years at Perugia were thus definitely a period of diplomat
discredit—though the Cardinal's hat, which had been promised whe
Mgr. Pecci was still at Brussels, was granted in 1852. But the Bisho
of Perugia had been brought into contact with modern problem
first during the three brief years of his nunciature in Belgium, an
then in the singularly difficult period of Italian history which begi
with the Revolution of 1848 and ends with the final annexation of th
Papal States and the unification of the modern Italian kingdom i
1870. During all those years Cardinal Pecci worked quietly bu
steadily at Perugia, giving his first care to the reform of educatio
in his own diocesan seminary and elsewhere in the diocese. H
reputation grew steadily among those who felt the need of a ne
policy in the face of modern problems and who still held firmly to th
belief that it was the Pope's duty to lead, in modern as in mediev
society. Senator Soderini has an interesting account of the distinguishe
foreign visitors who became more and more accustomed to include
day in Perugia as part of a visit to Italy, and of the loggia where th
Bishop could talk freely and keep himself in touch with every phas
of modern life and thought. His pastoral letters, the forerunners o
his great Encyclicals, are a witness to his interests during those year
of silent observation. But the Cardinal's action could be promp
and decisive when the interests of the papacy or of religion were a
stake. Senator Soderini quotes some striking judgments from
statesmen who were waiting anxiously for the Conclave's decision
Here is the opinion of Ratazzi, one of the leading statesmen of th
new Italian kingdom: "On several occasions I spoke of him with
King Leopold, who has an eye for a man possessed by no other King
in Europe, and who studied him as much as he appreciated him when
he was Nuncio in Belgium. . . . . His devotion to the Holy See i
unlimited, his principles most vigorous, his firmness inflexible, almos
obstinate: he does not allow even a suspicion of weakness."

ich was the man whom the College of Cardinals, by a large majority, y elected Pope on February 20th, 1878—less than a fortnight Pio Nono's death. They had made no mistake, and the modern soon found that the new Pope was both thinker and leader. or Soderini devotes the second half of his first volume to an sis of the Pope's social programme, giving the necessary historical ground for a full understanding of the famous Encyclicals. We with interest a translation of the whole biography, which will the other important aspects of the great Pope's pontificate; we suggest in the meantime that the translator should be more ul to secure a truly idiomatic translation of what is evidently nified and carefully-polished Italian original. A. G.

ALLIERE: Actress and Saint. By H. Willette. Translated by Mary Sands. London: Sands. 1934. 3s. 6d.
ODERN MAGDALEN: Eve Lavallière (1866-1929). By Fr. L. L. McReavy, M.A. Dublin: Browne and Nolan. 1934. 3s. 6d.

story of Eugénie Fenglio—now known by her stage name of Eve llière—begins with the tragic deaths of her father and mother. adoption of the name "Lavallière," arising out of a becoming -tie which went by that name, was prophetic of certain aspects r life as an actress and as a penitent. The life of a famous actress brought all Paris and many foreign visitors to her feet, with its phs and scandals, appeals to human nature. The story is told interest and reticence in these two books, which supplement each . The story by H. Willette has been excellently translated by Sands and is well illustrated. Fr. McReavy acknowledges to read it with profit. Both books naturally make use of the ction of letters published under the title of *Ma Conversion* by er Skansen.

he conversion of Eve was as sincere as it was sudden. In the t of a contract, she left Paris and broke completely with the past. threw herself into her new rôle of Catholic and penitent with all force of her character; but she never realised her dearest wish ecoming—like her great namesake—a Carmelite nun. She lived, ever, the life of a saint as a member of the Third Order of St. ncis, giving up everything for the love of God. For a time she ked with the Charles Foucauld Mission in Africa; but her health e down, and she spent the rest of her days in prayer, suffering acts of charity in the village of Thuillères in the Vosges, where died in 1929.

A. B.

Classics

ORPHEUS AND GREEK RELIGION. By W. K. C. Guth
London : Methuen. 1935. 21s. net.

PLATO'S THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE. The Theaetetus
The Sophist of Plato. Translated, with a Running Comment
By F. M. Cornford. London : Kegan Paul. 1935. 15s. ne

Both these books are difficult reading, but they will be found to h
very high value for all students of Greek thought. Mr. Guthrie i
a sense a pioneer, as his work is the first comprehensive and objec
account of its subject to appear in English. It will take its pl
beside Lobeck's *Aglaophamus* and Kern's *Orphicorum Fragment*
an indispensable aid to further research, and it will also prove a b
to the ordinary reader. Orphism was a "mystery-religion" wh
origins go back at least to the sixth century B.C. More than m
mystery religions, this parasite on the cult of Dionysus is baffling
elusive as to its doctrines, influence, and history. The greatest Gr
scholar of the last generation, Wilamowitz, almost went so far as
deny its independent existence altogether; but this was proba
in justifiable irritation with its mysterious character. At any r
no reader of Plato can agree with him or escape having to try conclusi
with it, and the echoes of its teaching can be heard throughout
Greek literature from Heraclitus to Clement of Alexandria.

Apart from its essential elusiveness, the student of Orphism suf
considerably from the fact that it has usually been treated only
a jumping-off ground for very far-reaching and often fantastic theor
which no doubt contributed to the scepticism of Wilamowitz.
Guthrie has performed the laborious and highly creditable feat
taking the scattered fragments of our evidence for the moveme
both literary and archaeological, and piecing them together in a reas
able continuous account, which, if not in all respects final, marks a gr
advance on most earlier work. After a brief opening chapter in wh
he tries to answer the question "What is meant by Orphism?"
goes on to discuss, first the evidence for Orpheus himself, then
Orphic creation-myth and theogony, Orphic eschatology, the Orp
Way of Life and the relation of Orphism to Greek religious thou
in general—ending with a few, not always judicious, remarks on
very thorny subject of its connection with Christianity.

Naturally many questions are raised by his sane and sober
cussion, and there is much that still needs amplification. He is
clined on the whole to treat Orpheus as perhaps historical, and see
to think the only alternative is to make him a "faded god." A th
course is suggested by the reported opinion of Aristotle, that he ne
existed. Can he not be best explained as originally a product
Märchen, a "magic helper" in the wonder-tale of the Argonau

ecial power was musical, hence his early connection with Apollo. s adopted by the first composers of "Orphic" hymns, such as ritus, as a "patron-saint," because he was the wonder-poet usician. His Thracian connections are admittedly late, and it e suggested that just as they are probably due to Aeschylus, ie whole story of a feud between Dionysos and Apollo which goes iem. As to the question whether the Orphics formed a "sect," thrie is non-committal. Here the importance of the Dionysiac ound may be emphasised. Like the Bacchics, the Orphics were organised in *thiasoi;* they may even in most cases have been nguishable from the worshippers of Dionysus, among whom ideas must first have spread. Mr. Guthrie brings out with able clearness the originality of their creation-myth, and shows hey combined Cretan elements with their Dionysiac cult. His ient of their influence on Pythagoreanism and on Plato is also valuable, and so is his on the whole favourable criticism of ioro's views about the fragments of Heraclitus (whose name is usly misprinted twice in one note).

. Cornford's book is at first sight of less importance, and the ty of its preface may perhaps mislead some of its readers. When membered, however, that the only English commentaries on these ues, those of Campbell, appeared as long ago as 1883 and 1867, tively, and that Mr. Cornford's work is as much commentary nslation, its value will be put at a much higher estimate. The ues dealt with are both extremely difficult as well as important, Ir. Cornford shirks none of the difficulties. On the whole, his may be regarded as a reaction against the views of Burmet and r. Both *Theaetetus* and *Sophist* deal with the theory of know- but they are very different in style, the former being marked the grace of the earlier dialogues, the latter by the stiffness and lty of Plato's last work.

st Platonic scholars, in spite of some evidence to the contrary, the *Theaetetus* as having preceded the *Parmenides*, which in ather resembles the *Sophist*. Mr. Cornford, following the latest editor, puts *Theaetetus* and *Sophist* together. Again, he differs most authorities in holding that the Theory of Forms is main- throughout both dialogues, though admitting, as everybody that it is modified to some extent in the *Sophist*. His difference Burnet and Taylor is perhaps most marked in the famous passage the "friends of the Forms" in the latter dialogue; these he promisingly and probably rightly identifies with Plato's own and its earlier views. Again, and once more probably with , he insists in seeing the Atomists among the materialists who represent the Giants in the war against the gods. His inter-

pretation of Plato's theory of " matter " in the *Timaeus* will agai found to differ in an essential point from Professor Taylor's, an strongly criticises the latter's identification of Dialectic with fo logic. His own exposition of the nature of Dialectic, and of the di ence between the Forms and Aristotle's Categories, will be foun be very clear and thorough. Perhaps one very faint criticism ma offered : in his interesting treatment of *dynamis*, perhaps becaus his conviction that the Forms remain nearly unchanged, he ha makes enough of Plato's doctrine of Motion, which is one of the cri that distinguishes all the later dialogues from the *Phaedrus* onw Enough has perhaps been said to indicate that students of philoso will find much to interest them in a book of marked distinction originality. M.

History

HISTOIRE DE L'EGLISE DEPUIS LES ORIGINES JUSQ NOS JOURS. Publiée sous la direction de Augustin Flich Victor Martin. I. L'Eglise primitive. Par. J. Lebreto Jacques Zeiller. Paris : Bloud et Gay. 1934. 60 fr.

In their joint preface to this first volume of a series of twenty- projected volumes on the history of the Church, Mgr. Martin an Fliche point out the undoubted need of a serious scientific work, wri from a Catholic standpoint, in which the results of modern rese should be embodied in a form accessible to the average intelli reader without being unduly popular in style. There is no nee recall here the names of so many scholars, both French and Ger who have sought in various ways to fill this obvious gap in mo Catholic literature. This new *Histoire de l'Eglise* is definitely a j undertaking, in which the collaboration of a large number of Cat scholars has been invited. Those who have learned to use the g French Dictionaries of Theology, Apologetics, Christian Archaeol Asceticism and Biblical Studies will not need to be reminded French scholars excel in this class of work ; and the names of t who have been asked to assist in this latest undertaking are a guarantee that our hopes will not be disappointed.

The two joint authors of this first volume have very diffe qualifications for their task. Father Lebreton is essentially the histo of early Christian dogma, who has recently shown that his dogm training has not prevented him from producing a singularly attrac and readable life of Christ. M. Zeiller is best known as an autho on the Romanisation and Christianisation of the Balkan provin but he is also a specialist in the general problem of Christian cont with the administrative side of the Roman Empire. He contrib the opening study of the Roman world at the time of Christ's missi whilst Father Lebreton continues the story by a very penetra

of the Jewish world, the preaching of Jesus Christ and His
s, and in particular the missionary activity of St. Paul. The
ence thus given to the actual life and teaching of our Saviour
come break from the tradition which makes ecclesiastical history
with the coming of Pentecost. Father Lebreton is more at
n this part of his subject than in any of the later chapters;
also contributes a remarkable chapter on Christian life at the
the first century, and yet another on the Apostolic Fathers and
vitness to the Catholic tradition.

Zeiller deals with the missionary side of the Church's activity
ne apostolic age, and tells in full the story of the early persecutions:
dy of the evidence concerning the martyrdom of St. Peter and
aul in Rome is a welcome attempt to correlate the recent
ological additions to our knowledge. In another able chapter
es his conclusions as to the gradual development of the
chical government of the Church; and he ends the volume
n attractive study of Christian life in the catacombs. In this
tion it is worth noting that no effort has been made to illustrate
atter of the text with pictures. In the present reviewer's opinion
a wise decision: illustration is only successful when it is done
nost generous scale.

re is a fine volume, carefully planned and written by two
wledged scholars; and (let it be added) finely printed by a firm
as done much for the cause of Catholic literature in the past.
we hope, the first of many similar volumes: it is also the first
successive volumes by the same distinguished pair of collaborators.
eaders will be quick to appreciate the value of this series when
d that such names as Bardy, Pierre de Labriolle, Bréhier, Amann,
, Arquillière, Constant and Martin are among the contributors
work is promised for the future. We wish the series all success,
e commend it most heartily to our readers. A. G.

GARY. By P. A. Macartney. London: Benn. 1934. 21s.

e League of Nations has done nothing else, it has provided a
e for public discussion of international affairs and given an
tunity to experts to work on those ethnological, economic, social
olitical problems which are often the cause of wars and the neglect
ich endangers peace. Mr. Macartney's book on Hungary is one
could hardly have been written prior to the "League." It
gs to the series "The Modern World—a Survey of Historical
s." The author is known as a worker in the "intelligence"
h at Geneva. He is part author of Vol. II. of the "Survey of
national Affairs" published in 1927 under the auspices of the
l Institute of International Affairs (also responsible for his *National*

States and National Minorities). His *Social Revolution in Au* appeared in 1926 and his erudite examination of *The Magyars in Ninth Century* in 1930.

The present book has its limitations. Beyond giving an acc of educational policy as it affected minorities, it takes little not Hungarian cultural life and none of its art forms, literature, mus of its inner self. It aims at instructing public opinion on the ori of this race, its growth into a state (the Borderland of Europe) constitution and institutions; its social classes, the problem of relations with other peoples inside and outside its frontiers; its p Treaty position and its future possibilities. The picture has life, co and movement, despite the tiring classifying and pigeonholing. publishers have done well by him in all but one detail. Granted importance he assigns to movements of peoples and settlement certain areas, he should have insisted on a map that could be effecti used, instead of being satisfied with one which is pasted on to stiff board of the end cover and the centre part of which has t sacrificed to the exigencies of the binding.

The story of Hungary is romantic and tragic. It is an epic in w heroic figures emerge—it is the drama of the guardians of the Euro gate. It could be human and personal, evoking passion and preju But, in this book, these are eliminated; "forces" take their pla destiny in the shape of the blood-tie or of the exigencies of the strat position or of the choice of a dynasty or of the inhibitions of a ca In the portion entitled "The Magyars in History" there is mor the evolutionary method. This is a subject which Mr. Macart has made peculiarly his own. His 1930 volume has an interes theory on the difference between Arpad and his Magyar kinsmen the Kavars, his pre-Danubian allies of Turki origin. The latter the ancestors of the nomadic and predatory people who pitched t light tents on the exposed plains of the Alföld. They, and not Magyars (an organised and stable group even then), spread te throughout Western Europe in the tenth century.

One king of the Arpad dynasty is singled out for treatment— only great human figure who emerges from this book. He is the pat saint of his nation—St. Stephen, first wearer of the Holy Cro symbol of apostolic as well as of national dignity. The developm of the historic Hungarian State is shown to be the work of St. Steph successors down to the end of the 13th century, when the Arpad dyna died out in the male line. The author gives a clear picture of mediaeval state, with its open doors for foreign settlers, its indiffere to assimilation, its insistence on the privileges of the warrior nat and its assumption of a conqueror's rights. In subsequent chap Mr. Macartney's theme is the evolution of the idea of the unit

ır State and the fateful policy of compulsory Magyarisation in tion.

wards the end, Mr. Macartney has much that is of interest to n the alignment of parties in post-war Hungary. Neither the Electors, amongst whom he reckons Horthy and Gombös, nor the mists, who include the Magnates, the Higher Clergy and the ian Socialists, are "party" in the strict sense. They represent modes of thought. Mr. Macartney seems to connect Protestantism National Independence with the Free Elector type, Catholicism eactionary politics with the Legitimist. I doubt if the divisions simple, and there can be no statistics until these modes become principles. When he goes back to the Reformation and shows stantism breaking like a wave and submerging most of the ates, he is correct; but when he implies that the Counter-mation (a spiritual and intellectual movement in the Church and fire and sword political campaign) dragooned them back into Church, I evoke the spirit of Cardinal Paszmany and the work of Jesuit schools against him. When he speaks of Protestantism as st national to the Magyar soul" and of Catholicism as "an rtation from the West designed to efface the memory of ancient om," he is almost "Nordic." When he compares the Hungarian stant gentry to the Irish "squireens" I admit the comparison goes no further than the narrowly social side of an obsolete "Irish" omenon. Few would now admit that the spirit of independence f liberty lived in the Protestant squireen rather than in the Catholic peasant, who literally gave his life every day for liberty, religious litical. Generalisations of this kind, made in the interests of a alism which is somewhat discredited, are unscientific—a jarring in an otherwise excellent work.

MARY M. MACKEN

ISTORY OF THE ROMAN WORLD. From 753 *to* 146 *B.C.* By Howard H. Scullard. London: Methuen. 1935. 15s. net.
RCUS AURELIUS. A Saviour of Men. By F. H. Hayward. London: Allen & Unwin. 1935. 10s. 6d. net.

SCULLARD'S book is the third to appear in Messrs. Methuen's able series of Greek and Roman historical manuals. It may be at once that it is well up to the high standard set by its two pre-ssors. Its author is already known for his excellent little mono-h on Scipio Africanus. This book deals in part with the same od, and it is easy to see how Dr. Scullard's preliminary study has ed him, for his sketch of the Second Punic War is probably the part of the work.

The early history of Rome is a study full of complexities. The orities for it are voluminous, but highly untrustworthy; the

copiousness of their legendary material bothered even Roman wri themselves, and Dr. Scullard mentions the amusing surprise expre by Livy at the number of Volscian armies which it provided Camillus to defeat. Since Niebuhr's time a century ago an enorm amount of work, aided very much in recent years by archaeol has been done to sift and rationalise this material. Dr. Scullard made thorough use of such scholars as De Sanctis, Beloch and Ter Frank; and although at times he prefers to enumerate the view others rather than boldly express his own, his whole work shows e mark of independent personal judgment. Once or twice he disagrees with the *Cambridge Ancient History*, which naturally alv provides him with a background of detail; and his emphasis on var phases of his subject is entirely his own.

This book is certain to be welcomed by teachers and student Roman and European history. Perhaps the most useful thing a notice can do is to point out some of its special excellences. thoroughly up-to-date, using the most recent work scattered in m periodicals; an instance of this is the account on p. 301-2 of the te ment of Ptolemy Physcon, now the earliest-known case of a Hellen King bequeathing his possessions to Rome. Dr. Scullard never to emphasise the peculiar nature of the historical tradition, and rescues men like Minucius (Fabius Cunctator's Master of Ho Terentius Varro, and Flaminius from some at least of the od attached to their names by their aristocratic opponents. Perh the most interesting section in the book is that beginning on p. and dealing with "the rival families," in which it is shown that bef during, and after the Second Punic War the direction of Roman po was almost monopolised by no more than five *gentes*, whose riv filled a large part of the second century as well.

Like most recent historians, Dr. Scullard is, we think, inclined react too far back against criticisms of Roman imperialism. leads him to some rather strange judgments; for instance, in dea with the fourth century, he speaks of the "Syracusan danger" to Greek cities of Italy. Again, in discussing the origin of the first Pu War, he draws a wholly illusory distinction between Rome's "de sive" imperialism and the "exploiting commercial imperialism" Carthage. The concept of "defensive imperialism," which see very appropriately, to owe its origin to a French scholar, M. Hollea —it might well be paraphrased as "security"—is again used by Scullard with reference to Rome's policy in Greece. It offers, ind a sound explanation; nobody nowadays would attribute mod economic motives to second-century Rome—but to explain is not Dr. Scullard seems to think, to justify. Rome should not, no ma how much we admire *gravitas* and the other virtues, be whitewas

er treatment of Macedon, her slow strangling of the Seleucid rchy, and the century or more of anarchy which she was respon- 'or inflicting on the Greek civilisations of the East.

ne or two slight blemishes may be noted in an admirable book. 86 the term "Hellenistic" is applied to the Greece of 378 B.C. not a little ambiguous to say, as is done on p. 65, that the Twelve 's forbade "night-clubs?" On p. 212 we notice the illicit spelling eus"; on p. 264 Scipio's "solidarity" is puzzling; and finally tation from Terence is curiously telescoped on p. 416.

)r. Hayward is the author of a recent much-reviewed book ed "The Unknown Cromwell." His excursion into ancient y cannot be greeted with great enthusiasm. There is not much o say about Marcus Aurelius, and Dr. Hayward is not the man it. His book is a rather repulsive essay in the style of "Enquir- ayman" who runs a weekly "rationalist" page in that estimable al "John O' London's Weekly." It can only have the effect ll further confusing the minds of the earnest seekers after deep s who already combine irrational optimism with the gloomy atisms of the Rationalist Press Association. The style of the work be judged from the fact that on one page we are warned against sing Arrian with Appian and on another assured, as of a valuable very on the author's part, that the portraits of Marcus Aurelius he originals of modern portraits of Christ. Much in the book, g as it does with patronising comparisons between pagan and ian beliefs, would be offensive if it were not negligible.

M. T.

BRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY. Vol. X. The Augustan Empire. Edited by S. A. Cook, F. E. Adcock, and M. P. Charlesworth. Cambridge University Press. 1934. 37s. 6d.

Cambridge Ancient History is now within sight of its closing e, and it would be idle to contend that it is getting lighter to s volume is added to heavy volume. This volume, for example, ns no less than 1,057 pages, not counting the elaborate genealogical hronological tables that are inserted at the end: it is a clumsy ulky volume to handle, and in that it is like too many of its diate predecessors. Classical study is tending more and more overweighted by mere learning. But students of Roman history ngracious if they grumble too loudly at the mass of learning is thus made accessible; it is at least a comfort to think what nount of searching into back numbers of classical reviews and tations has been spared the readers of this elaborate study. As al in the Cambridge volumes, the bibliographies are of themselves mense boon to the student; if he sometimes feels tempted to

ignore them and to content himself with what he finds in the 1,0 pages of this volume, that is the fault of modern classical scholarshi not of the three editors of this great *History.*

Two contributions to this latest volume deserve special commer Dr. Tarn has established his reputation by now as one of the ve few historians of our day who combine solid learning with a keen critical sense of values and an astonishingly vivid grasp of the hum personalities whose careers he is describing. His study of Cleopat in this volume is, I think, the finest bit of historical writing that h come my way for many a long day. Possibly Dr. Tarn has overrat the potential achievements of this amazing queen ; but it is hard deny him his arguments, and his power of revitalising a story th had grown too familiar is astounding. For him Cleopatra is essentia a Greek woman of great intellectual powers and of justifiable ambitio who came near to having her way with two conquerors of the wo She made Rome tremble as no enemy since Hannibal had made tremble ; and her beauty was but the most obvious of the many gi that nature had showered on her. The pity is that this fine piec historical reconstruction should be buried in the mass of uninspir erudition which goes to make up most of this unwieldy volume.

Inevitably, in these days of *I Claudius* and its sequel, the aver reader will turn to the three chapters on Tiberius, Gaius and Claud and Nero which come in rapid succession after fourteen chap devoted to the administrative and military achievements of Augustan age. Mr. Charlesworth has reserved the first three of th Emperors for himself, and readers of these two chapters will find th modern scholarship has done much to restore the reputation of Tiberi who stands forth as one of the ablest of Roman rulers. Gaius is, perha less of a madman than our text-books would have it, depending they always do essentially on the literary tradition of Tacitus a Suetonius ; but it is impossible to find a wholly rational explanati of his perverse and unbalanced reign. Of Claudius our judgment c never be simple, so strangely are enlightenment and superstitio genuine capacity for government and grotesque infirmities compounde in his person. Mr. Charlesworth does his best to strike a balanc but it must be admitted that the Emperor fails to live in his portra

All the more welcome is the change to Professor Momigliano brilliant chapter on the reign of Nero. In an earlier chapter he h sought to do justice to the personality of Herod the Great ; and Nero he has a subject after his own heart. It is a dramatic sto told by a writer who has a sense of dramatic values ; and in the fin summing-up Professor Momigliano goes beyond the familiar contra between Nero's prestige in the Greek-speaking East and the hatr which survived his death in the West. Even more lasting has be

mpression that the legend of Nero has made on Christian tradition ; Professor Momigliano's comment is worth citing in full. " Christian ion was to identify him more definitely either with Antichrist th the messenger who precedes Antichrist and prepares his advent e the end of the world. This implied antithesis between the ch of Christ and the Empire of Antichrist suggests that a strange underlay the tradition that chose, as the personification of the ire opposed to the Church, the emperor who first put into practice onception of unlimited power, who offset—even though in ignorance e salvation of Christ by a salvation of his own, and like Christ ed to be called the saviour of the world." A. G.

ROMANCE OF THE FLORIDAS. By Michael Kenny, S.J., PH.D. Foreword by Dr. James A. Robertson. New York and Milwaukee : Bruce Publishing Co. 1934. Pp. 418. $3.75.

distinctive literary craftsmanship evinced by Dr. Kenny in his ious work on Alabama and French missionary culture and educa- in the latest centuries has, in this most readable of all available unts of the Floridas and earlier Spanish enterprise, been obviously nced and even strengthened. There is a fuller, more broadly an, more polemical scene. Set in a more spacious and vital age, rtunity is here amply availed of for the vivid picturing of what is tially Catholic and adventurous, and for the handling of matters during controversy. Each of the two sections, 1512 to 1565 and to 1574, forms a full unit : they are of lengths almost exactly reverse of their time duration, but, owing to the availability of rical materials, all masterfully handled and made to attain high ctiveness of narrative form. Dr. Robertson, an outstanding ority on the region and on the period, testifies with fervour to the ty of the historical work done. Many of the illustrations, too, of the nature of historical documents: would that they all were, he drawings of scenes (of Christian witness, for instance, and of e de Leon) fall much short of the value of the portrait of Pedro ndez de Aviles ; and neither Hernando de Soto nor Francis ia is at all convincingly portrayed.

he main service of such a volume as this, on a region within the ed States ceded by Spain to the new Republic in the nineteenth ry, is to emphasise and demonstrate how very large were the within the present States whose exploration and colonisation totally Catholic and Latin. Dr. Kenny's service in this task of ssing religious and regional as well as cultural balances, far too tilted in the direction of Puritan England and artificially stabilised bias against historical truth, is of excellent augury. This work a telling lead for similar expert work, with a popular aim, in lands, lands including both Australia and Great Britain.

This work on Florida, like its predecessor, is most effectively pr duced; and special mention is due to the excellent style and placi of the two maps over four full pages. They are always available f reference: they have not to be searched for; and they are bold designed in full accord with the period of this record of Christi adventure by State alike and Church. T. C.

LAURENTIUS VON DUBLIN UND DAS IRISCHE NORMA NENTUM. Inaugural Dissertation zur Erlangung d Doktorwürde der Philosophischen Fakultät der Ludwig-Max milians-Universität zu München vorgelegt von John Franc O'Doherty. München. 1933. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis. 2s. 6

Though this work is but a dissertation, it is a very serious contributi indeed to mediaeval Irish history. For well-nigh eight centuri Lorcan O'Toole has been venerated as a great saint, a great churchm and a great patriot. Yet, curiously enough, the sources for his li have never been scientifically investigated. In Orpen's *Ireland und the Normans* references to his career are few and unreliable; in Profess Curtis's more just and well-balanced *Mediaeval History of Irela* he appears again but incidentally, five or six times at most, in t agitated story of his generation. In hagiographical literature h treatment is commonplace, save in Mr. C. Curran's brilliant essay *The Irish Way*. Hence the importance of Dr. O'Doherty's study his life, which provides us at last with as much certain knowledge scholarship can squeeze out of the meagre sources.

It is, of course, obvious that to write a satisfactory biography St. Lorcan it would be necessary to deal fully with the history of h period. This Dr. O'Doherty has done, and the fruits of his labou are to appear in a complete work, wherein the activity of St. Lorca will occupy but half of one chapter. The volume will begin with th collapse of ecclesiastical discipline in the Irish Church and will go o to describe the remarkable process of restoration and reform whic took place in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. So hopelessly inte mingled then were the interests of Church and State that the historia who deals with one has perforce to deal with the other. We hav thus every reason to expect that Dr. O'Doherty's *magnum opus* wi throw a flood of light on the circumstances that led to and followe on the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland.

The dissertation now published is divided into five chapters. I the first we are offered an excellent summary description of the politic and the ecclesiastical background—the dreary manoeuvres and battl between the houses of O'Brien, O'Connor and Mac Lochlainn, and th laborious re-building of the spiritual fabric, which was completed b the Synod of Kells in 1152. St. Lorcan O'Toole already appears

champion of Irish ecclesiastical independence; for, unlike his ecessors in the Dublin see, he swore obedience to Armagh and not anterbury. Chapter II describes the coming of the Normans to nd and the delicate position of the Archbishop of Dublin when succeeded in making his cathedral city their capital. In Chapter which treats of the visit of Henry II to this country, special ıtion is paid to the Synod of Cashel. Dr. O'Doherty shows clearly in accepting the *Ecclesia Anglicana* as an exemplar in matters ith and morals and discipline, the Irish Clergy were conceding no diction to Canterbury. Their aim was simply to bring their own oms into harmony with those of the whole Western Church. pters IV and V bring the reader from 1172 to the death of St. an in 1180. The confusing history of the period is ably handled. re are five appendices in which points of difficulty are discussed courage, critical acumen and sound learning. So good, in a l, is this short treatise, that the appearance of the great work of h it is designed to be part will be awaited with intense interest.

J. R.

Philosophy

PHILOSOPHIE CHRÉTIENNE DE DESCARTES A NOS JOURS. Joseph Souilhé, S.J. Paris: Bloud and Gay. 1934. 2 vols. 12 fr. each.

TRODUCTIO GENERALIS AD PHILOSOPHIAM ET AD THOMISMUM. Auctore L. De Raeymaeker. Ed. altera recognita et aucta. Lovanii: E. Warny. 1934. Pp. 199.

philosopher will find in human experience his subject and problem in human reason his instrument; but he cannot neglect the fact Christianity with all that it implies in the regions of intelligence morals. He cannot conduct his speculations as if Christianity not been a profound influence in the world for so many centuries. v then has Religion affected modern philosophic thought—even of e who were not in any true sense believers—is the question that e Souilhé has set himself to answer in these two slight but compact very interesting volumes.

Descartes was in this, as in many other respects, the true starting nt for such an inquiry. With his complete break with Scholastic osophy he had lost the true synthesis between Faith and Reason ch St. Thomas and the other great Scholastics had constructed. a man he was deeply religious; as a philosopher, he feels the need God to give his system a start, and then his whole aim is to minimise significance in the world and in the explanation of the world. noza continued and accentuated this tendency,. He developed system of Descartes with ruthless logic into a Pantheism which

has no place for morality, freedom or personal immortality; but t which, in compensation, he gave an atmosphere of austere exaltatio which was deeply religious. Even in Hume the religious preoccupatio was not negligible. His mordant destructive scepticism was directe mainly against the methods and arguments of the Deists. P. Souilh cites a passage from his *Essay on Miracles* which shows that his hear had profound reasons for belief which his head could neither justif nor reject. If we could characterize the movement from Descarte as an attempt to separate Religion and Philosophy, then the work o Kant fitly closes the period. In the *Critic of Pure Reason* he define the object, nature and limits of science and metaphysics; in the *Criti of Practical Reason* he does the same for Religion. He establishe each on its own ground, and between them he sets a chasm. Kan prided himself for saving Faith from the scepticism of Hume; he di so by making it essentially irrational and unintelligible.

The nineteenth century, Fr. Souilhé shows, was an advance toward a more spiritualistic conception of Philosophy, both within the Churc and outside. Within the Church the movement is from the Ontologism Fideism, and Traditionalism to the revival of Thomism—probably th most amazing revival in the whole history of human thought. Outsid the Church the direction has been away from Materialism an Positivism and Empiricism towards a metaphysical and spiritua explanation; in which progress modern Idealism is a distinct advance

The almost universal interest in Religion and God which P. Souilh traces in his wide and full survey, must not blind us to the fact tha at least until very recently, the movement of philosophical thoug has been a deterioration, because it was a continuous effort to eliminat from a philosophical explanation of the universe the one thing tha gave it meaning—its relation with God. P. Souilhé's book will appea to all who are interested in Philosophy and Religion; it shows all thos signs of ripe scholarship and method which mark his distinguished work on Greek Philosophy, and especially on Plato.

Dr. De Raeymaeker's *Introductio Generalis* is the best book of it kind that we have met; it is complete, scientific and full. Adoptin the method generally received in such introductions and starting fro a provisional definition, he works up to a scientific definition o Philosophy by way of a survey of the history of the subject. Thi history is done with considerable detail and is in every way excellent specially worthy of commendation is his account of the differen currents in modern times. The definition and analysis of philosoph that follow this section seem to us the least satisfactory chapter; no so clear, for instance, as the corresponding chapter in M. Maritain' brilliant introduction.

The second portion of the book is an introduction to Thomism

sists of a life of the Saint and a full catalogue of his works, with count of their contents, origin and chronology. Then there is chapter on the history of Thomism from the death of its author revival. The account of the different schools and families that descent, direct or collateral, from the *Doctor Communis*, is done mpartiality and objectively ; thus the estimate of Suarez seems sympathetic and just. The history of the revival of Thomism and well documented and impartial ; and the brief discussion value, authority and scope of the papal documents is judicial. bibliography is especially valuable ; it is done under many ngs—classical works, texts, manuals, etc., and includes lists of dicals and of Catholic Universities and higher Institutions. And cial commendation should be given to the illustrations. On the a thorough and valuable book. H. K.

LEITUNG IN DIE METAPHYSIK. Von Siegfried Behn. Freiburg im Breisgau : Herder. 1933. Pp. xvi. + 327.

GRUNDFRAGEN DER PHILOSOPHIE. Von August Brunner, S.J. Herder. 1933. Pp. xiv. + 293.

Behn's book is written in his usual brilliant manner. Although ntroduction, it would be more profitably read by a student after ing through one of the usual manuals. Much care is given to the emological foundation of Metaphysics ; and the main metaphysical lems are discussed at great length—somewhat informally, but very prehensively. The thoughts are deeply Scholastic, but are served n a new dress, which would at times make them difficult for a nner to follow. The old problems are dealt with as they would ront a thinker who realises keenly the philosophical and scientific ook of the present day. The treatment is original and in a manner, onal ; and the difficulties are faced with a confident directness fulness. Often, under an appearance of diffuseness, there is packed nsiderable amount of philosophical information ; and many of the arently simple discussions (*e.g.* that on number) carry the reader abstruse questions.

Anyone who has mastered the classical treatment of Metaphysics find this work highly suggestive. It is not so much a treatise on aphysics as an exhibition of Metaphysics in use.

Professor Brunner's work is wider in scope, dealing with the whole vince of philosophy : Theory of Knowledge, General and Special aphysics, Philosophy of Science, Natural Theology, General and cial Ethics. In contrast to Dr. Behn's book, it is very systematic compact—a model of synthetic exposition. Intended originally course for non-philosophical academic students, it avoids classroom nicalities and is directed to the general reader. At the same time

it enters deeply into all the fundamental problems, and applies t Scholastic principles to the solution of the actual philosophical questi of the present time, and to a radical criticism of the more influent systems. J. S.

Politics

L'EUROPE TRAGIQUE. Par Gonzague de Reynold. Par Éditions Spes. 1934. 20 fr.

APPARENTLY we are witnessing in our time the end of a revoluti and the rise of a new world. And although the process is of inter theoretical interest, the practical results are often tragic. Cou de Reynold is aware of the immense difficulty of writing contempora history. But contemporary history has its causes in the past, a these certainly can be traced. Nor can the philosophical student f to note the working out to an issue of political ideas or fail to fascinated by the clash of those great opposing political systems wh determine so much of human history. "Of futurity," as Dr. Johns says, "we know but little." And yet the little which we can surm is of supreme interest to us all. "Si Dieu efface, c'est sans dou pour écrire," says Joseph de Maistre. And Count de Reynold te us: "J'ai donc une philosophie de l' histoire, et c'est celle de Providence. Elle est la seule qui permette d' espérer et d'agir."

This book, it may be said at once, is a masterly study of contempora political history and a testimony to the erudition and the insig of its author. It falls into three parts. The first is a study of t modern world—of the revolution whose distant origin lies in Humanis and the French Revolution and whose completion and disintegrati are to be found in the Russian Revolution and the Economic Cris In the second part the first symptoms of the counter-revolution Italy and Germany are studied. And in the last is discussed the ne for unity in some spiritual principle.

The philosophical basis of modern political movements is to found in Rousseau and Karl Marx. Many lesser men, no doub contributed; but these two brought the scattered rays to a focu From Rousseau came at once individualism and state absolutism from Marx came communism, of which state absolutism is a feature a stage in the evolution, although ultimately the state itself will be longer needed and will wither away. The nineteenth century witness the triumph of individualism in the liberal-democratic state. Cou de Reynold is convinced that there is no future either for liberalis (in the continental, nor the English, sense) or for democracy. Liberalis was unprepared for the shock of socialism; it could not stand again socialism, for it contained socialism potentially within itself. Democra likewise. "On n'arrête jamais les conséquences d'un principe, u

u'on l'a posé. Or, en posant l'égalité des droits politiques, on ait l'égalité des biens." This is a hard doctrine, nor will the ate democrat be at all willing to accept it.

mocracy, of course, is in theory, as Plato demonstrated, an l system. Count de Reynold submits it to a devastating criticism. is fundamentally wrong with it is its optimism. It presupposes t men ; it is the most beautiful but the most illogical of systems. ıocrat would need to be a creature of pure reason—a god according usseau, an angel according to Maritain. The idea of political ty seems to work out absurdly. "Take, for example, universal ge. It starts from an idea highly moral : since every man is a and political value, every man has the right to register his ın . . . . . The moral idea ends in an immoral application ; the ty of right leads to an inequality of fact, to the advantage of ıediocre and degenerate. For it is singularly immoral that an ted and virtuous elector should be treated in the same manner e ignorant and debauched." Democracy, as the Greeks had ly noticed, inevitably ends in dictatorship. To protest against according to Count de Reynold, is as vain as protesting against rthquake. "What makes democracies end in dictatorships is oppression combined with the disorder of business. But it is dition the political vermin. The people in the end grows weary parliamentarians, of electoral combinations, of the sterile agitation rties. It ends by growing weary of being exploited in the very of principles ; then it denies them. 'Democracy is the name ve to the people when we have need of it.'"

here democracy seems strong it is because of deeper historical s and social conditions—as in Great Britain, "the happy ination of monarchy, aristocracy and democracy by which England to us as the last country which still retains the great Christian val synthesis of the three forms of government." There is, of e, a Christian democracy ; but this democracy is social, not cal. The good of the people is the supreme law of government. he combination of terms is dangerous. "Voilà pourquoi tant de crates catholiques en arrivent si souvent, et sans penser à mal, ler comme des jacobins."

hether one does or does not accept this analysis, it is obviously esult of much careful reflection. Continental experience of mentary democracy has been very unhappy. Count de Reynold nself convinced that there is an element of supreme value in cracy and that this element must be retained in any successful . Concrete political systems are all imperfect. They resemble otels in the country town—in whichever one happens to be lodged, would wish to be in another. And there is much wisdom in the

remark of Aristotle that democracy is the best of the *imperfect* for of government. This being so, we may readily admit that it is t worst of the perfect forms.

The best rule, it may be, is the rule of the man of perfect virtu But, apart from ourselves, he is as difficult to discover as the perfe democrat. Count de Reynold has an elaborate and suggestive analy of the three types of contemporary autocracy—Bolshevism, Fascis and Hitlerism. His study of these systems abounds in acute a pregnant observations, and I regret that, in a brief review, I can mere refer the reader to his book. D. O'K.

THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHIES OF PLATO AND HEGE
By M. B. Foster. Oxford : Clarendon Press. London : Milfo 1935. 7s. 6d. net.

MORALS AND POLITICS. By E. F. Carritt. Oxford : Clarend Press. London : Milford. 1935. 6s. net.

These two small books by Oxford scholars make each a real contributi to political philosophy. Mr. Foster gives us a very closely-reason and detailed analysis of the leading ideas of Plato's *Republic* and comparison of these ideas with Hegel's political doctrines, so like th in many respects. In his introduction he expresses the view t "there can be no genuine science of philosophy which is not ba on the study of the history of philosophy," and his work is an es in such a study. Hegelian scholars may decide for themselves whet justice is done to Hegel by selecting as fully representative of his teach one work only, the *Philosophie des Rechts.* There is no doubt that treat the *Republic* as completely exemplifying Plato's views is study Plato from a very narrow angle. In an acute examinat of his ideal State, Mr. Foster shows that it labours under the def of its idealism. Its rulers are to be the supreme embodiment of wisdo but by its very nature they are to lack the quality of sovereign freed which should accompany this character, for they are bound to a p determined scheme. Mr. Foster makes a very important distinct between this freedom, about the presence or absence of which in rulers Plato is never very clear, and the economic freedom which the attribute of desire, and thus belongs to the lowest part of the so and is sternly expelled from the State.

Hegel was conscious of this defect in Plato's scheme, but as Foster demonstrates, only up to a point. In accusing Plato of havi excluded "subjective freedom" he confuses the two kinds of freed just mentioned, and thus unconsciously claims for the citizen of own State two different and almost incompatible attributes. The res is to endow every subject of the Hegelian State with the virtue

or the Platonic wisdom; and on the other hand to make ttribute communism to all citizens of Plato's *polis*. From this on on Hegel's part arise a number of defects which are as ng to his own political system as the defect discovered but erstood by him is to Plato's. Not the least of these is Hegel's e debasement of the insight ascribed to the subject "from ilosophical understanding, which implies a reference to a supra- al ground, to that historical understanding, which does not." ster sees in this shifting of Hegel's ground a merit of which losopher was unconscious. For himself, he holds that the State he subject of a metaphysical theory but the result of a continuous creation. Into the ramifications of Mr. Foster's own theory, s curious derivation of modern natural science from the Christian e of creation, it is impossible to enter in a brief review. There many points upon which critics will argue, but no one can Ir. Foster's book without being impressed by its learning and n.

Carritt's work, if perhaps less impressive as a piece of analytical ng, is also remarkably interesting, and its conclusion is on the sound and clear. It is divided into two parts, preceded by an ıction in which the author explains his purpose. The first part orical, the second analytical. Setting out on his investigation he question "what constitutes political obligation?" Mr. first examines the answers given to this question by some t thinkers and by nine of the most famous modern writers on s. Beginning with Hobbes, he shows that the same conception State runs down through Spinoza, Hume, Rousseau, Hegel, and quet, while Locke, Kant, and Green, though very close to it, outside this main line of agreement. His brief criticisms of the s views expounded by all these philosophers, reinforced by nt quotations, will be of great value to all students of the subject. second part he examines first the Philosophy of History as set by Hegel and the Marxians, then gives his own views on political and duties, and ends with two brief chapters on the General nd the Social Contract. It will be regretted by many readers e did not make these chapters longer.

s own view, admirably driven home by a quotation from Kant last page, is the eminently sensible one that both the theory General Will and that of the Social Contract are unnecessary angerous products of an attempt to erect a political philosophy urely selfish hedonistic basis. "A true theory of politics," says "must begin by doing homage to moral obligation." Mr. Carritt's ook will do much to introduce clarity into a very cloudy subject.

M. T.

Miscellaneous

THE COMMUNION OF SAINTS. By V. M. Breton, O
London : Sands. 1935. Pp. 214. 3s. 6d. net.
THE BLESSED TRINITY. By V. M. Breton, O.F.M. Lon
Sands. 1935. Pp. 240. 3s. 6d. net.

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world to-day is filled with intellectual fog and spiritual miasma.
help in the dissipation of these two evils is a truly apostolic
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light in an hour of darkness. They merit also the practical su
of Catholics, lay and cleric, who should endeavour to utilize
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Knowledge.*

The first of the volumes under review deals with the Comm
of Saints, which is an article of our Creed. It treats of this impo
theme from the standpoint of history, dogma and devotion. Av
all controversy, it seeks to explain what is meant by, and what
from, the defined doctrine. The language is simple and clear;
teaching is solid and sound ; the treatment is reverent and devot
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inquirers ; it will give them just the kind of information that
serious minded are looking for at present.

The second book is, if anything, better than the first. Tho
obviously, the task of expounding the mystery of the Trinity is gr
than that of explaining the Communion of Saints, Père Breton
risen to the occasion and given us a very satisfactory exposition o
history and evolution of the doctrine. He writes avowedly fo
faithful in general ; yet even the theological specialist will find
brief résumé of so much tangled controversy and high debate
interesting and helpful. It gives that *coup d'oeil* over the
subject which enables us to understand the mystery and al
implications, in so far as such understanding is possible at all.

Cover, format, paper and printing will satisfy the most exa
bibliophile. They are really an achievement at the price.

P. J.

BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES. A Selection. Translated and ted by Edward J. Thomas, M.A., D.Litt. London : Kegan ul. 1935. 10s. 6d. net.

tena of texts from the Buddhist scriptures will be of the utmost only to readers of the two large treatises on Buddha and st thought with which Dr. Thomas has enriched our knowledge East, but to a far wider public who would fear to read such uff, yet want to know something authentic about Buddha. have it in a series of extracts from the earliest and most reliable Buddhist scriptures, admirably chosen and translated as only omas can translate. Those who wish to make a real study of system will necessarily have to read his two great and scholarly s—*Life of Buddha* and *History of Buddhist Thought*—to which tena is an appendix ; but one who is content to go into the less deeply, will get a very fair grasp of Buddha's authentic g, as distinct from subsequent accretions and comments, from ort volume of some 250 pages.

his volume we get the chief scriptural details of Buddha's life, tem on which the Buddhist monks were trained, the authentic xposition of the chief doctrines of the system, and the instruction laymen as distinct from the monks and nuns. Buddha was reluctant at first to admit women into the Order. When he he took steps to secure their due subordination to the monks. st rule for nuns declares : " A nun even of a hundred years' g shall first greet a monk, rise up before him, salute him with hands and make obeisance, even if he has only that day been d ! " Distractions at their contemplations were taken rather y in the Buddhist system. " Mára the wicked, wishing to e fear, consternation, and hair-raising in the nun Somá and er fall from her state of concentration. . . . . " But Somá sed Mára as the tempter, and he departed pained and sad.

could fill a long article with such quotations, some showing dinary parallels with our own spiritual writers and others at posite pole. Buddha had a great ascetical mind ; he was, , the Supreme Quietist, but with no humility. " He roared n's roar in the assemblies and turned the Supreme Wheel." *itis sum et humilis corde* can no more be said of Buddha than fer.

JOHN HOWLEY

EW REVIEW. A Monthly. Calcutta and London : Macmillan d Co. 2s. a copy. Annual Subscription, 20s.

ve before us the first five numbers of this interesting review omes to us from India. It is time that we should extend to endly greeting. It has in common with STUDIES these two

features at least, that it is Catholic in outlook and that it is conduc by the Jesuit Fathers. Like STUDIES, too, it welcomes to its pa contributions not only from Jesuits but from Catholics of vari types and nationalities, lay as well as clerical. Thus among contributors to these first numbers we notice such names as C. Martindale, S.J., Charles J. Quirk, S.J. (U.S.A.), Achilles Verstrae S.J., Dom Raphael Stones, O.S.B., Vincent McNabb, O.P., Marion Habig, O.F.M., Arnold Lunn, H. C. E. Zacharias, M. Ruthnaswa Armando Menezes, Munshi Kanhaiya Lall. There are also occasio contributions by non-Catholics.

It will be well to set forth the policy of the *New Review* in its words. It runs, in part, as follows :—

" *The New Review* is a high class monthly of general inte conducted in India by the Society of Jesus.

" The Journal presents a concise account of the problems latest developments in the various fields of human culture . . . .

" A well-informed chronicle of important movements publications . . . . . .

" A discerning appreciation of India's cultural achievements its present problems ; also a review of literary productions in more important vernaculars and in Sanskrit.

" An interesting selection of essays, stories, and poems."

In addition we have in the first number an editorial article entit " God's Glory " in which the writer says :—" The aim of the Jour is to contribute to the advantage of India to the full extent of influence. We regard India as a mother ; hence nothing that conce her will be considered as indifferent or uninteresting . . . . ."

How have these high aims been realized in these first numbers the *Review ?* In the first place, we find many articles of special Ind interest—" India's Gifts," " The Ruins of Chanderi," " Agricultu Marketing in India," " An Introduction to Samkhya," " The Mala Christians," " The Jesuits in Afghanistan," " A National Langua for India," and others. Besides these, some of which will surely be interest to others besides Indians, there are articles of wider appea " The Philosophy of Science," " The Personal Equation in Educatio " Fra Angelico," " From the Positivist to the Spiritualist Outlook

There are informative, and to some extent critical, articles some European countries—" Germany To-day " by Konrad F " Italy Revisited " by D. Ferroli (an enthusiastic but rather unsatisfyi account), " Italian Fascism " by Angelo Brucculeri (equally inadequat " A Worker's Life in Soviet Russia."

The *Review* is not afraid of politics, as witness the articles " T Meaning of Mahatma Gandhi " and " A Political Note-Book."

The section headed Notes and Comments carries out, though

ot very fully, the third paragraph of the statement quoted above. there is a substantial section devoted to reviews of books. ven from this very inadequate survey of the first numbers, it I think, appear that the *New Review* is a valuable contribution— ectual, cultural, and religious—to the influence of the Church and rientation of thought in India.

S. J. B.

Books Received

s, H. P. Life and Writings of Giambattista Vico. (Allen & Unwin, 8/6).
ATER, DONALD. The Catholic Church in Modern Wales. (Burns Oates, 8/6).
, JEAN. Madame Elizabeth. (Editions Spes, 7fr. 50).
T, PIERRE. Les cinq Plaies du Christ. (Editions Dillen, 7 fr. 50).
AY, VERA. Joc and Colette on the Seashore. (Burns Oates, 3/6).
IAS, ABBE. Evangile et Nationalisme. (Editions Spes, 50 fr.).
, CARLO. Acta Pont. Academiae Romanae S. Thomae Aq. (Marietti, L. 10).
ALEXANDRE. Cent Ans de Missions, 1815-1934. Les Jésuites Missionnaires. (Editions Spes, 50 fr.).
OUIN, EVE. Dans les Cachots de la Tour de Londres. (Bloud & Gay, 6 fr.).
ON, A. Celui qui nous aima. (Bonne Presse, 6 fr.).
, BEDE. Anglican Memories. (Burns Oates, 2/6).
, BEDE. The Foundress of Tyburn Convent. (Burns Oates, 5/–).
NATI, CESAR. Vie de la Bienheureuse B. Capitanio. (Bonne Presse, 3 fr.).
L, E. The Rose of China: Marie Thérèse Wang. (Browne & Nolan, 3/6).
E, V. GORDON. The Prehistory of Scotland. (Kegan Paul, 15/–).
CH, RALPH. Hume's Theory of Understanding. (Allen & Unwin, 7/6).
ONNIER, M. Le Christ dans sa Passion révélé par le S. Suaire de Turin. (Dillen, 9 fr.).
A. The Best World Possible. (Allen & Unwin, 4/6).
, JOSEPH. Westminster Version of the Scriptures: The Gospel according to St. Luke. (Longmans, 5/–).
CHE, MAXIMIN. Un Frère de Richelieu inconnu. (Desclée De Brouwer, 28 fr.).
AN, PATRICK J. History of the Legal Incorporation of Catholic Church Property in the U.S., 1784-1932. (Kenedy, $3.00).
HERTY, JOHN C. Outlines of Bible Study. (Bruce Publishing Co., 7/6).
TTILLON, J. V. Le vrai et le faux Patriotisme. (Editions Spes, 12 fr.).
UR, M. E. Examination Spanish. (Black, pp. 330).
ER, CARDINAL. Defence of the Priesthood. (Burns Oates, 5s.).
D, J. M. A. Noble Company. Studies of Great Lives. (Browne & Nolan, 3/6).
ER, T. M. LOVAT. God. Does He Exist? (Browne & Nolan, 1/–).
ENS, M. De Causalitate Sacramentorum. Textus Scholasticorum. (Universitas Gregoriana, L. 6).
N SAOR. Economics for Ourselves. 2nd ed. enlarged. (Talbot Press, 2/–).
EN, G. M. The Communist Attack on Great Britain. (Burns Oates, 1/6).
Z, MARY PAUL. Concept of Nobility in German Didactic Literature of Thirteenth Century. (Catholic University of America, pp. 145).
ORY, T. S. The Unfinished Universe. (Faber & Faber, 8/6).
ARD, FERNAND. Gengis-Khan. (Colin, 18 fr.).
TLEY, OLGA. Women and the Catholic Church. (Burns Oates, 5/–).
AN, JAMES. Could Ireland Become Communist? (Eason, 1/6).
DLESTON, ROGER. The Spiritual Letters of Dom Chapman. (Sheed & Ward, 8/6).
HER, PAUL DE. An Anthology of Mysticism. (Burns Oates, 7/6).
IN, GEORGE H. Prologue to Nomostatistics. (New York, pp. 32).
S, STANLEY B. Back to Langland. (Sands, 3/6).
IFFE, M. F. The United States as a Financial Centre. (University of Wales, 6/–).
X, RONALD A. Heaven and Charing Cross. Sermons on the Eucharist. (Burns Oates, 2/6).
TZ, G. Intorno al "Clemente XIV" del Barone von Pastor. (Desclée, L. 2).
AS, JULES. L'Ame russe. (Flammarion, 12 fr.).
ARD, JOSEPH. Thoughts from St. Vincent de Paul. (Burns Oates, 2/6).
CIER, CARDINAL. Behold thy Mother. Discourses on the Hail Mary. (Burns Oates, 3/6).
ABB, VINCENT. Saint John Fisher. (Sheed & Ward, 2/6).

Books Received—*continued*

McSorley, Joseph. A Primer of Prayer. (Burns Oates, 3/6).
Marques-Riviere, Jean. L'URSS dans le Monde, 1918-1935. (Payot, 25 fr.).
Molien, A. Liturgie des Saints : La Vierge Marie et S. Joseph. (Aubanel Ainé, 12
Monsabre, R. P. La Vierge Marie. Extraits de ses Oeuvres. (Lethielleux, 12 fr.)
Monteith, Robert. Casement's Last Adventure. (Dublin : Fitzpatrick, 7/6).
Muirhead, J. H. Bernard Bosanquet and his Friends. (Allen & Unwin, 12/6).
Negre, Paul. Catéchisme théologique de la Vie spirituelle. (Vitte, 3 fr. 50).
O'Boyle, James. The Irish Colleges on the Continent. (Browne & Nolan, 6/–).
O'Byrne, Cathal. From Far Green Hills. (Browne & Nolan, 3/6).
O'Connell, Sir John. Lyra Martyrum. Anthology of the English Martyrs. (Bu
Oates, 6/–).
O Nuallain, Gearoid. Mindealú agus Parsáil. (Educational Co., 1/–).
O'Rourke, W. T. Library Handbook for Catholic Students. (Bruce Publishing Co., 10/
Perroy, Louis. The Humble Virgin Mary. (Burns Oates, 3/6).
Phillips, G. W. Sunlight on Shakespeare's Sonnets. (Thornton Butterworth, 7/6).
Pirou, Gaetan. Le Corporatisme. (Recueil Sirey, 10 fr.).
Riondel, H. Pax Vobis : Aux ames inquiètes. (Lethielleux, 12 fr.).
Roche, Aloysius. Apologetics for the Pulpit. (Burns Oates, 6/–).
Rope, H. E. G. Fisher and More. (Browne & Nolan, 3/6).
Sammons, A. T. St. Scholastica's Priory (Atherstone) and the Conversion of Engla
(Burns Oates, 1/–).
Selincourt, O. de. Art and Morality. (Methuen, 10/6).
Sencourt, Robert. The Genius of the Vatican. (Cape, 10/–).
Sheehan, Canon. An Sagart Og. Trans. by Pádraig Ó Corcordha. (Talbot Press, 2
Simon, G. A. La Règle de Saint Benoit commentée. (Vitte, 25 fr.).
Smith, Lawrence R. John Fisher and Thomas More. (Sheed & Ward, 6/–).
Sparrow Simpson, W. J. Religious Thought in France in the XIX Century. (Allen
Unwin, 5/–).
Stigliano, Prince. Méthodes, Esprit et Doctrines de la Franc-Maconnerie fran
actuelle. (Lethielleux, 18 fr.).
S. N. D. Religious Teaching in the Infant School. (Sands, 2/6).
Townsend, Jewett C. Modern Approach to Old Testament. (Allen & Unwin, 5/–).
Wardale, E. E. Chapters on Old English Literature. (Kegan Paul, 8/6).
Watkin, E. I. A Philosophy of Form. (Sheed & Ward, 16/–).
Viller Marcel. Dictionnaire de Spiritualité. Ascése—Basile. (Beauchesne).

National Recovery. An Outline Plan. (Talbot Press, 1/–).
Life of Blessed Michael Garicoits, 1797-1863. (Sands, 5/–).
Ce qui se passe en Allemagne. (Bonne Presse, 5 fr.).
Public Works Policy. (International Labour Office, 4/–).
The Stations of the Cross according to St. Alphonsus. (Burns Oates, 1/–).
St. Paula. By the Benedictines of Talacre. (Washbourne & Bogan, 12/6).
Une Mystique du xix siecle. Mère Térèse Emmanuel. (Bonne Presse, 10 fr.).
L'Immaculee Vierge. Histoire et Doctrine empruntées aux meilleurs auteurs. (Bon
Presse, pp. 223).
Societe de St. Vincent de Paul. Livre du Centenaire. Les Commémorations,
(Beauchesne, 30 fr.).
Un Saint pour chaque jour. Sept.–Dec. (Bonne Presse, 5 fr. each).
Quadragesimo Anno. Revised translation with notes. (Catholic Social Guild, 1/–).
Our Lady. Cambridge Summer School Lectures, 1933. (Burns Oates, 6/–).
Souvenir of Mount Melleray's First Centenary. (Gill, 4/–).
A Century of Service. St. Vincent's Hospital. (Browne & Nolan, 2/6).
Freemasonry. Examination by a Past Master. (Washbourne & Bogan, 3/6).
Report of the Department of Education, 1932-1933. (Stationery Office, 2/3).
International Intellectual Co-operation. (Allen & Unwin, 2/–).
Pour l'Action Catholique. (Téqui, 10 fr.).
Missel liturgique des Enfants. (Bonne Presse, 5 fr.).

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